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# **USSR** Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS No. 1045



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# USSR REPORT POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1045

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#### INTERNATIONAL

## U.S. MEDIA FOSTERS 'ANTI-SOVIET WAVE'

[Editorial Report] LD160911 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 June 1980 publishes on page 3 under the rubric "The Enemies of Detente; Who Are They?" a 1,500-word Washington dispatch from TASS correspondent V. Gan headed "The Prince of Darkness." Gan focuses on the "slander" put about by U.S. journalists such as Bob Novak, known as the "Prince of Darkness," and others concerning the Soviet Union. He asserts that U.S. "propagandists" work on the principle that "the more lies are told, the greater the chance that they will 'stick,'" and states that the White House and State Department press sections "dictate the interpretation of international events" to journalists. He goes on to assert that U.S. television companies have been requested by the administration to "keep to a minimum positive news from their correspondents about the USSR," and states that the aim of the "anti-Soviet wave" is to boost the administration's popularity and promote U.S. "military-political expansionism."

INTERNATIONAL

JAPAN'S ROLE IN U.S. ANTI-SOVIET STRATEGY

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English 4 Jun 80 pp 1-3

[Article by A. Drozdov]

[Text] In recent times Washington has been sort of "relegating" to Japan some of the political, economic and military functions in Asia which used to be the exclusive prerogative of the United States itself. The White House has been persistently underlining its interest in "special relations" with Tokyo. This implies "regular working consultations on problems of global strategy." That sounds tempting. But, in point of fact, the substance of the "special relations" boils down to the same old trick of "driving a wedge...."

For indeed, what Washington means, above all, in speaking about "close cooperation" with Japan is military cooperation. And whatever tag American politicians may put on Japan, they still see her, first and foremost, as a site for air and naval bases. Besides, tho U.S. is attaching great importance to Japan's material resources and production potentialities providing logistic support for eventual military operations in Asia. Nor is that the end of the matter, however.

The U.S. is goading its partner into building up its own armed forces and military expenditure with a view to creating an integrated American-Japanese military system. Even at this point, Tokyo is fulfilling a number of functions concerned with the "defence of North-East Asia and the Western Pacific." The Japanese "self-defence forces" are gathering and digesting intelligence information and exchanging it with the U.S. Army. Japanese air defence radar stations are linked up with American early warning systems, which is claimed to be a precaution against a nuclear strike. Japan's territorial waters are guarded exclusively by her naval "self-defence forces." The Japanese Navy has special squadrons to patrol and defend the country's sea routes stretching for up to a thousand miles.

Yet the Pentagon still finds that is not enough. The U.S. has been complaining that Japan's present contribution towards assuring her national security is manifestly insufficient. Washington's war-cries are striking an answering chord in the hearts of certain representatives of the Japanese political, business and military establishment. No wonder, for Japan's conservative forces see the nation's rearmament as a means of dissolving the "contradiction" between her "gigantic economic power" and "relatively little pronounced political role in the world." A recent statement by the Japanese Defence Agency chief Ts. Hosoda has been a clear example to show that home-grown militarist trends die hard, indeed. On assuming office he said, notably, that Japan "will try to create an effective and high-quality defence potential, whether the United States may demand that or not."

Obviously, by pressing for Japan's increased and reinforced defence, certain Japanese politicians and military men are playing into the hands of American strategists. They are faithfully serving, besides, the interests of the big national monopoly groups deriving a wealth of profit from war orders.

According to a TOKYO SHIMBUN report, 2,230 Japanese companies are now producing a wide range of military equipment. In 1978 alone, the Defence Agency concluded 637,700 million yen worth of contracts with Japanese firms. Japan's munitions industry is developing into a giant enterprise, indeed.

Public discussions on national defence problems are becoming increasingly popular with Japanese politicians. It is not uncommon for the Japanese press to indulge in irresponsible speculation about a "threat" claimed to be posed to Japan by her Far Eastern neighbour, the Soviet Union. The media have been readily taking up militarist tunes and instigating nationalistic and revenge-seeking sentiments among the public.

And all that is happening in a country whose people lived through all the horrows of the latest war.

Moreover, there is recurrent speculation in Tokyo about a possibility of some Japanese troops being sent abroad.

This idea has not yet been translated into reality. However, Japan's readiness to participate in Washington's war games in the Asia and Pacific does show it to have fast gripped the minds of certain Japanese politicians.

With cold-blooded calculation, Washington is still trying to have somebody pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it. Without any scruples, the Carter Administration is exposing the "unsinkable aircraft carrier" to a storm of political and economic troubles which have overtaken the present American leadership. Is there anything but the concern for its own gain to account for Washington's attempts at getting Japan to commit herself to an economic blockade of Iran? Is it the interests of the Japanese people's security that are guiding the U.S. in planning to turn the Japanese Okinawa Island into a bridgehead for the so-called "quick deployment force"? Nor are there any other motives to explain the U.S. demand for the Japanese munitions industry to be developed—the Washington leaders see this as a means of weakening the trade and economic positions of the civilian sectors of Japanese industry.

The danger of Tokyo being further involved in the United States' global-anti-Soviet strategy has been gravely disturbing the progressive sections of Japanese opinion. The Communist Party of Japan and other democratic forces have been stressing that Japan's arms buildup and her involvement in the U.S. military-strategic plans run counter to the vital interests of the Japanese people and to the cause of peace and security in Asia.

## INTERNATIONAL

#### SANAKOYEV ON PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED DETENTE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Apr 80 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences Sh. P. Sanakoyev, by G. Musayelyan: "Pilots Without Piloting Instructions"]

[Text] [Question] By the 1970's, after many defeats and disappointments, the people in Washington began to come to the conclusion that there does not exist any intelligent alternative to peaceful coexistence. These moods of the pilots and captains of the American ship of state exerted their influence upon the policy of the United States and its Western allies, and contributed to the international detente. At the present time the frame of mind of the Cold War era is again prevailing. Shalva Parsadanovich, what, in your opinion, is the real reason for that major turning point in the political course of the United States?

[Answer] The course of international events during the past decade has graphically shown that the detente was caused by the objective needs of the modern era and it corresponds to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the earth. Detente began to be confirmed as the leading tendency in international relations, and that clearly reflected the process of the reinforcement of the forces of peace and social progress. In addition, it attested to the fact that the ruling circles of the leading capitalist powers are forced to take into consideration the objective facts, the real ratio of forces, and to construct their policy accordingly.

However, this turn of events on the international scane is not to the liking of definite forces of world imperialism. As was emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at a pre-election meeting of voters, "the greater the reduction of the opportunities that capitalism has for dominating over other countries and peoples, the more violently its most aggressive and short-sighted representations react to this."

It should be emphasized that a great effect upon the moods of the ruling elite in the United States was also exerted by the problems of the natural resources, especially crude oil, and the illusions linked with the use of the "Chinese card." Finally, a definite role was also played by the

fact that the moment for the making of foreign-policy decisions coincided with the beginning of the latest American electoral campaign.

All these factors, then, led to the situation in which definite extremely influential political circles in the United States and certain other leading capitalist countries have been attempting to emasculate the very content of the detente and convert it, so to speak, into a street for "traffic to the right only" -- that is, in the direction of preserving the positions of reaction. Moreover, the impression is being created that the White House is ready to accept peace only in the form of "pax Americana" ("American peace"). All that any country has to do is to acquire freedom and independence and to pull itself out of the sphere of imperialistic dominance or influence, and the ruling circles in the United States begin to behave as though they have lost one of their states.

Three years ago, when the reins of governments in the White House were transferred to J. Carter, he promised to take part in the creation of a "just peace on the principles of the love of peace and of genuine humanitarianism." The basis of the "new beginnings," in his words, was supposed to be provided by disarmament and the observance of high moral norms in defending human rights.

Subsequently, however, the policy of the U. S. president, to use the apt expression of a certain commentator, has reminded one of the pendulum on an antique clock with an erratic beat: every swing of the pendulum in the direction of peace and detente has been matched by a longer reverse swing toward rigid confrontation. Today, however, as the actions of the United States on the international scene demonstrate, Washington's foreign-policy pendulum has gone "completely out of control." Instead of disarmament, the United States has become the initiator of an unprecedented arms race. The ratification of the SALT-II Treaty has been rendered as difficult as possible and has been frozen for an indefinite period. The promise to engage in a search for understandings for the purpose of reinforcing the mutual understanding and universal peace is no longer remembered. high moral norms have been buried under a heap of assertions concerning the "right" to interfere in the affairs of other states. The creation for this purpose of interventionistic forces in the Persian Gulf area and the proposal concerning the organizing of a so-called European "rapid reaction corps" provide greater and greater foundations for speaking of the rebirth of the Cold War by the United States.

An associate of Columbia University, E. Clubb, writing in the American NATION magazine, noted that "American fears of political and social changes" are constantly growing and this is leading to backsliding to the tactics of the Cold War. "Complicated situations in distant countries," Clubb writes, "are viewed through ideological prisms and frequently are distorted by previously concocted, far-fetched interpretations that take the place of objective analysis."

[Question] How do you explain this kind of political shortsightedness? After all, work has been carried out in the West on a broad scale to analyze and forecast the development of international events, to plan foreign-policy actions, etc. Sometimes the people participating in that work include indisputably talented and knowledgeable specialists. They rely on a vast and well-equipped apparatus for processing and systematizing the data, and on methods that were created by modern electronic-computer technology.

[Answer] Unlike socialist foreign policy, the foreign policy of the hourgeois state cannot, by its nature, be of a genuinely scientific character, since it responser to the fundamental needs of the social economic development as social progress as a whole.

Despite the prolonged experience in the conducting of diplomatic relations, the bourgeoisie has been completely incapable of creating the science of foreign policy and international relations. And even the Western political experts are forced to admit this themselves. For example, P. Aaron, in a paper given at a scientific conference that was conducted by the American Academy of Political Sciences, declared outright that one cannot even speak today of the existence of bourgeois "scientific doctrine" in the field of international relations. He admitted that the doctrines that are being advanced by scientific center have been called upon only to help the governments, and particularly American government, to acquire "a definite historical image," that is, render assistance in implementing the planned political course.

American political science gives rise to a large number of various military-strategic doctrines. The failure of these theories attests more convincingly than any words to their scientific insolvency.

It should be emphasized that the bourgeoisie has no self-interestedness in the existence of a genuine science and foreign policy. On the contrary, it avoids the scientific, objective approach to the evaluation of the processes and phenomena that are occurring in the world, to the ascertaining of the natural laws underlying the development of bourgeois society, since, if one takes this approach, one reveals the class nature of the socioeconomic system, the class content of the foreign and domestic policy of the bourgeoisie.

Moreover, attempts are even being made to deny not only the scientific nature of foreign policy, but, paradoxical as it may seem, even that foreign policy itself as being the objectively influenced course taken by a particular country on the international scene. "Research and intelligence organizations," Henry Kissinger indicated, "both foreign and national ones, attempt to endow foreign policy with qualities of rationality and consistency which they simply do not possess. I was literally not capable of convincing the French that there is no such thing as an American foreign policy, and that the series of steps that yielded a definite result had possibly not been planned to produce precisely that result." As the expression goes, comments would be superfluous.

In recent years the West has been broadly advertising futurology — the forecasting of international relations. Engaging in this practice are hundreds of research centers in various countries which make wide use of electronic computers. In a tempts to find or create some kind of system for forecasting, obviously, nothing is reprehensible. But the fact of the matter is that Western futurology for the most part has been called upon to execute the social commands of the ruling classes and to camouflage the true state of affairs and the prospects for world development.

Thus, as it is easy to see, the failures of American policy are caused by a number of objective causes, which include the overall weakening of the positions of imperialism on the world scene, the unscientific nature of foreign policy, etc. The increasingly acute financial and economic problems -- the devaluation of the dollar, the rise in inflation, and the fall of the competitive appeal of American commodities, the overall lowering of the living standard and the quality of life, the very profound moral and political crisis that has been engendered by Watergate and other scandals -- all these things, together with the shameful defeat in Vietnam, as the U. S. Institute of Political Studies noted, "severely undermined the presumption of U. S. invincibility, which in and of itself had been considered to be sufficient to repel any challenge to the American interests abroad." The "presumption of U. S. invincibility" was dealt a new blow during the period of the aggravation of the Iranian-American relations, when the ruling circles of the transatlantic power results to the most diverse methods -- blackmail, economic blockade, crude pressure, and the threatening of a military attack upon Iran. In and of itself, this kind of behavior by the U. S. government made completely obvious to the entire world the aggressive nature of the foreign-policy course taken by the present administration, and its inability to adapt to the real state of affairs that has developed in the world.

[Question] In order to justify its course of operating "from a position of strength," and of interering in the internal affairs of other states, Washington resorts to such reasons as the alleged buildup of "the Soviet threat."

[Answer] When that "threat" is discussed by informed and sensibly-minded politicians and specialists, they resort to that tactic primarily in order to accelerate the military preparations, to make shameless demands and claims against other countries and nations. At the present time this is being done behind the smoke screen of such official American "explanations" concerning the events in Afghanistan, which even many state figures in the West and the bourgeois press frequently characterize as explanations that do not withstand criticism.

It should be emphasized that the unscrupulous exploitation of the myth of "Soviet threat," the constant reference to it over the period of what has already come to more than six decades, in and of itself is evidence of the

weakness of the positions of the capitalist system and the lack in that system of any historical prospect, and is an indicator of the fear that is being experienced by the imperialistic bourgeoiste in the face of socialism and the ideals of communism. The famous British historian Edward Carreays concerning the anti-Soviet campaigns, "In any newspaper you will encounter importunate hatted toward Russia and fear of Russia. The persecutions of the 'dissidents,' Russian naval might, Russian spies. Marxism — those are the constant labels that are being used in the political atruggle and propagands campaigns in England. The explosion of nationa hysteric on such a scale is, of course, a symptom of a sick society."

Who, then, is actually responsible for the real threat to peace and to international conferation? The answer to this question is provided by life (teelf, by the very development of modern international relations. The irrefutable facts which have already been cited repeatedly in the world press attest to the fact that the U.S. ruling circles have never rejected the method of threats, blackmail, and aggression with respect to other nations and countries.

Inciting a campaign around the mythical "Coviet military threat," the reactionary circles in the United States are pursuing completely concrete goals: the worsening of Soviet-American relations, a worsening that is supposed to serve as the reason for newer and newer appropriations for military needs.

In carrying out a course aimed at the intensification of the arms race, the United States and its NATO allies are compelling the peace-loving states, including the socialist ones, to take necessary steps to guarantee their own security. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been forced to strengthen their military-industrial potential, and to have in their arsenal military technology that meets all the requirements of defending the USSR and its allies. But the monopoly bourgeoisie makes no attempt to conceal the fact that, by drawing the socialist states into the arms race, it is pursuing other goals — class goals. It is striving to achieve a situation in which the burden of military expenses becomes a factor that undermines the peaceful economic development and that hinders the carrying out of the stupendous national-economic plans in those countries.

[Question] Washington's actions in recent times indicate the great danger that can be inherent in the decisions made by those who are knocked off-balance by the objective course of world events. At the same time, the measures of the American administration, which are applauded only by the opponents of detente, have demonstrated something else as well: the world community, including certain U. S. allies, have absolutely no intention of turning off the highway of detente, which has been laid with such difficulty, and venturing onto the Cold War road that is sown with the mines of confrontation. In this regard, which do you consider to be the prospects for the 1980's?

[Answer] The 1980's attracted the attention of scientists, writers, and public-affairs specialists long ago. More than 30 years ago the British author G. Orwell published the book 1984, in which he painted an almost apocalyptic picture of the life of mankind in the decade of our century which has now arrived. Fortunately, today's world is dissimilar to Orwell's fearsome mirages. The 1980's, of course, have inherited a large number of complicated and unresolved tasks, and the forthcoming struggle around the problems of peace and war will be no less fierce that in the past. But it is not so easy to shake loose the structure of detente, much less to destroy it. And although that structure has not yet been completely built, its foundation is already sufficiently strong.

One of the proofs of this is the increasingly sharp criticism of the adventuristic policy of the present American administration that is being leveled at it by the claimants to the position of boss of the White House, former leaders of the United States, representatives of business circles, famous scientists, and very important international commentators. Another proof is the decrease in J. Carter's popularity throughout the country. Finally, a factor that is finally making its way through is the realistic understanding even by the allies of the United States that Washington's course of empire does not conform to their vital interests.

As for the Soviet foreign-policy course, it is, as L. I. Breshnev emphasized, invincible. That course "has been defined by the decisions of the CPSU congresses, is embodied in our entire foreign-policy activity. That course combines a consistent peace-loving attitude with the firm rebuffing of aggression. It has proven its value during the past decades and we shall continue to follow it in the future. No one will knock us off that course."

Mankind develops not according to "laws of the jungle," but according to the laws that were discovered by the great founders of scientific communism -- Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

#### INTERNATIONAL

MISCUIDED NOTIONS ON PROBABILITY OF SURPRISE SOVIET ATTACK

Moncow NOVOSTI DALLY REVIEW in English 10 Jan 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Gennady Gerasimov, political commentator]

June 3 and 6 this year a computer on duty at U.S. air defence command headquarters signalled a Soviet nuclear attack on the United States and triggered the nuclear counterstrike system aimed at the Soviet Union. In November it took six minutes to stop the counterstrike mechanism set in motion by false alarm and in June It took three, but for those six and three minutes the war was on, as it were...

What would happen if the original error led to a second technical error or if by some fluke of fate the man in charge lacked responsibility or were in the Herostratus mood? The result would have gone far beyond the boundaries of Soviet-American relations. A nuclear disaster which would ensue would affect the destinies of peace, all nations of the world.

A report made at a recent conference held in Moscow to mark the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact said that the world was filled to capacity with weapons of mass destruction and if they were ever used, the world would be destroyed.

No machine made by man can be perfect, just as no man can be perfect. Aware of the importance of the problem, the Soviet Union and the United States signed in Washington on September 30, 1971, an agreement on measures to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war between the two countries. Article 1 of the agreement pledges each side to maintain and improve organisational and technical arrangements to guard against the accidental or unauthorised use of nuclear weapons under its control. In this context, obsession with hypersensitive computers looks like technical cretinism.

Strictly speaking, all the errors of the American computer are secondary, so to speak. They resulted from a gross political mistake—the belief that a surprise Soviet attack was highly probable.

There are two explanations for this mintake,

The first results from the old game called "The Russians Are Coming," So many lies have been told about an alleged Soviet threat that the inventors of these lies are coming to believe them themselves. At the same time, many Western leaders claim that there is no threat of a Soviet attack. Late last year, Joseph Luns, NATO's necretary-general, tuld the newspaper DIE WELT that when asked whether the Soviet Union intends to attack the West, he answers that he does not think so.

The second cause of the mistake is the habit of judging others by one-self. Daniel Ellaberg, an antiwar activist who had worked in the Kennedy administration, revealed the existence of the so-called Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan, which he described as a plan for a nuclear first strike.

There is also a possibility that the advocates of a preventive war in the Pentagon may use the computer's false alarm to rename the flist atrike a "preemptive" strike. Their aim is to create a situation when they could say that they could not waste time checking the computer and what's done is done. This is a typical example of playing with fire.

The Pentagon strategists know that the Soviet military doctrine is predicate, on the idea of delivering a destructive counterstrike at an aggressor, not the first strike. So the Pentagon itself is a better early-warning system than any radar or computer. Do not plan a first strike and you will prevent a counterstrike.

It should be added that since both sides have invulnerable counterstrike capabilities, which means that even after a surprise attack either side will have enough nuclear weapons to inflict what the Pentagon calls "unacceptable damage" on each other, a hypersensitive computer may do more harm than good.

The world's public is justly worried that their existence depends on an error-prone computer somewhere in Colorado Springs, particularly at this time of Washington's nervous and irresponsible state and a flare-up of militarism. The only way of preventing a war by accident is to work for peace through goodwill.

#### INTERNATIONAL

## HISTORIAN TRACES STRUGGLE OF AFGHAN PEOPLE

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Aziz Niallo: "Victory Horns of Mayvand (Afghanistan: Pages from the Past)"]

[Text] In the second half of the nineteenth century, a determination was made in world politics of several hot spots which had been engendered by Great Britain's predatory course. The British Navy blocked the Persian Gulf and landed an assault party that began military actions on the Iranian shore. Slightly more than 10 years later, British troops invaded Ethiopia, but the aggression took on its greatest scope on the boundaries of Afghanistan. Covering its actions with a loud commotion about the "Russian threat," England began a predatory war against Afghanistan. This was the second Anglo-Afghan war.

Ethiopia, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan. . .

Those names are constantly present today in our newspapers. It is only that in the second half of the twentieth century these hot spots have become considerably hotter, and the striving of the imperialistic aggressors to suppress the national independence of those countries has taken on increasingly disgusting forms.

A work recently published in Moscow by the Chief Editorial Office for Eastern Literature, of the Nauka Publishing House -- N. A. Khalfin's historical narrative Pobednings tridy Mayvanda [Victory Horns of Mayvand], which is devoted to the heroic struggle waged by the Afghan nation during the years of the 1878-1880 war -- helps one to make a deeper analysis of the events that have occurred. A major specialist in the history of international relations in the East, a doctor of historical sciences, the professor grew up as a scientist in Uzbekistan and for a long time headed in Tashkent the Central State Historical Archives of Uzbek SSR. Working as a research historian, he devoted much thought to ensuring that the academic rigidity of the scientific works did not prevent providing the broad reader with all the inestimable wealth of the archival documents.

In the margins one still sees marks that were deliberately made in colored pencils for the purpose of drawing special attention. Sometimes the sharp pressure suggests the emotional seal of the person who was reading that document, but all these extremely important details are accessible only to those who have been fortunate enough to read pages that are a hundred years old. The value of the documentary artistic narrative consists in the fact that it makes it possible to bring to the reader these brilliant and memorable lines. Khalfin the artist, the author of the narrative Pobeday or trady May Paralla, supplements Khalfin the historian. In the chapter "Don't rush for good luck," he cites the splendid scene in which the Turkestan governorgeneral K. P. kaufman reads a report from the Russian military agent in London, General Gorlov. Of the many letters of his which are still preserved in the Tashkent archives, he has selected specifically the one which most brilliantly illuminates the nature of the British piratical policy.

. . . Kaufman reads Gorlov's report about the activities of the British: bribes paid to hostile tribes are made on the broadest scope. . . British gold always walked alongside of British weapons and, to a greater degree, even played the primary role. . . Kaufman looked at the next paragraph, smiled broadly, and placed a tremendous exclamation point off to one side. The text that was so marked stated, "But these bribes do not prove to be completely successful. The elders take the money and then fail to execute the promises."

Kaufman's gentures and the exclamation point that he put down expressively supplement the already emotion-filled document.

Then there is a brief item from a British newspaper concerning the Afghan tribes: "It is doubtful whether they will ever subordinate themselves at all to our dominion if we do not destroy them to a man. . . Or if they do not destroy us!"

Kaufman again picked up a pencil and emphasized the words to the effect that the Afghans would scarcely subordinate themselves to British rule if they were not completely destroyed.

"He really has caught the spirit of the nation!" he said aloud.

The greatest value of the excerpts that have been cited lies in their complete reliability. The documents are genuine. They actually continue to bear marks -- a heavy line under the text and a tremendous exclamation point that has been written in red pencil that stands out especially clearly. All these emotionally-laden details make the text especially memorable. In this regard the mastery of the writer of documentary prose supplements the historian's erudition.

N. A. Khalfin was just as careful in researching the British sources -- official reports on military actions, correspondence, memoirs, and the documentary wealth of the Indian National Archives, where testimony of the bloody British aggression has been preserved. The hypocritical champions of human rights, who ceremoniously don the toga of the defenders of democracy, acted in Afghanistan in the role of bloodthirsty hangmen. The chairman of an investigative commission, Colonel Charles MacGregor, thought up for those who rose up against the British usurpers a double execution: the person sentenced had an inflammable mixture rubbed all over him, and then the executioners hung him from a chain and lighted a fire under the gallows. The chapter "Carousel of death" is based on strictly documented facts. Even during the era of the darkest Middle Ages, when the Most Holy Inquisition burned heretics at the stake, no one went so far as to think up this barbaric execution. No, the credit for being first belongs indisputably to the British "civilizers."

We shall not retell the content of the book. A person has to read it through in order to understand the policy that is directed at enslaving the Afghan nation, and that was begun by the first Anglo-Afghan War of 1838-1842 and the logical continuation of which is the filthy activities of the CIA nowadays on the boundaries of new free Afghanistan.

If politicians can be accused of plagiarism, the very first accusation could be directed at the British usurpers, and now to those who are continuing their policy — the American aggressors. The reason that they chose for the war and for aggression is the mythical threat posed by Russia. Both the first Anglo-Afghan War and the second one have been presented as a means of responding to the "Russian danger." The danger lay, in the opinion of the London politicians, in the fact that Kabul was visited by a Russian embassy. And yet N. A. Khalfin's book cites convincing documents that show that the war was prepared long before the idea was even born, to send a Russian diplomatic mission to Kabul.

An optimistic ending to the book is provided by the chapter "Mayvand — the nation's glory." In the summer of 1880 an Afghan home-guard detachment led by Ayub Khan departed from Herat to southern Afghanistan in order to help the insurgent detachments that were fighting against the British occupying forces. Three genuine British documents are devoted to Ayub Khan's campaign. On 22 July 1880 the commander in chief of the British forces in India, General F. Hines sent the following telegram to Kandahar, to General Primrose, who was in charge of the British troops in the south of Afghanistan:

"You must understand that you have complete freedom to stop Ayub if you find yourself to be sufficiently strong to do so. The government feels it to be politically very important to disperse Ayub's army and to use any means to prevent its arrival at Ghazni."

On Sunday 25 July the following telegram was sent from Kandahar to London:

"It is unknown whether Ayub proposes to fight or to rush to Ghazni. The Kandahar state is completely calm."

That telegram was immediately printed on the pages of the Times-one of best-informed newspapers in Great Britain. Several days later, Ayub Khan, at Mayvand, defeated the British, smashing General Barrows' brigade to a man. Having lost two banners, more than a thousand killed, 95 wounded, and 338 prisoners, the British fled to Kandahar over the arid steppe. The fugitives were headed by British officers with brigade commander, General Barrows. On 28 July General Primrose sent the following telegram to London from Kandahar:

"Terrible defeat. General Barrows' troops destroyed. We are hiding in the fortress."

Maivand became the symbol of victory. In subsequent years, wherever riots against the British usurpers flared up in the land of the Pashtun-Afghans one could hear songs about Maivand.

And so the name of the book concerning the struggle waged by a nation that never bowed its head to usurpers -- "Victory Horns of Mayvand" -- therefore is appealing to all those who support the just struggle being waged by the Afghan nation during the days of the piratical raids upon the land of Afghanistan.

# STRUGGLE AGAINST RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 26-28

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. Filimonov: "The Crisis of Faith and Religious Extremism"]

(Text) In scientific literature by extremism is meant adherence to extreme views and measures (from the Latin extremes—extreme) primarily in the political sphere. Supporters of such views and actions are called extremists. Extremism, however, may occur not only in the political sphere. Support of extreme views and actions can occur in any sphere of social life and human activity as part of an individual's approach to one or another problem. One encounters manifestations of extremism, for example, in the sphere of religious relations as well. Here by extremism is normally meant extreme actions in the social life of religious units.

The phenomenon of religious extremism is complex and as yet poorly studied. There is as yet insufficient preciseness in the definition of the concept itself: is extremism in this case a certain phenomenon of religious life per se, or are we dealing with extremists of a particular religion whose activities are not determined by their religious affiliation with religion serving simply as the form through which some other tendencies and aspirations are expressed.

The author of this article does not intend to analyze all possible forms of religious extremism encountered in the world today. Discussed here will be some of its peculiarities and specific forms of manifestation in Soviet society.

In recent years the concept "religious extremism" has been applied in the Soviet Union first and foremost to the actions of those representatives of religious groups who engage in antisocial and unlawful activities. However, it would be a mistake to include in the ranks of religious extremists those who for one or another reason violate the laws on cults. Violations of the law can also be unconnected with extremist sentiments but stem rather from other causes and motives (for example, ignorance of these laws), whereas in the area of religious extremism we are concerned with deliberate violation of the law.

At times the concept "religious extremism" is identified with religious fanaticism and applied to all fanatic believers, especially unregistered sectarian organizations and groups, an approach which is also erroneous. Undoubtedly manifestations of religious fanatacism in the actions of religious extremists occupy a significant place; however, not all religious fanatics should be considered extremists. The existing tendency to identify religious extremism with religious sectarianism is even more unjustified and harmful.

It is true that phenomena of religious extremism occur more often in instances of sectarianism with its claim to religious exclusiveness, to the correctness of only its own version of "salvation," for example, among the adherents of the Evangelical Christian Baptists' Council of Churches, the Reform-Adventists, the extreme Pentacostalists, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and others. However, the great majority of the members of these religious groups are not religious extremists. Extremists from among the groups' leaders often mislead them and incite them to commit antisocial actions.

One should also take into consideration that extremist phenomena occur among Orthodox and Catholic clergy, among the followers of Islam, especially Murid groups, and among the followers of the former Uniat Church.

From the above one may draw the following conclusion: religious extremism is not associated with any particular religious group; it is interdenominational. As a phenomenon it does not affect the great majority of believers but is characteristic of only some individuals or groups of religious activists, clergymen and sectarian preachers, who "attempt to circumvent the law and provoke in believers dissatisfaction with the policy of the Soviet state with respect to religion—normally for self—seeking purposes and only using religion as a camouflage."

What are the conditions for the manifestation of religious extremism among believers in our society?

First and foremost is the desire of some church clergymen to overcome the crisis of religion with the aid of extreme actions which result in violations of Soviet laws. The withering away of religion in the modern world, including socialist society, is an objective process stemming from the effects of a number of objective and subjective factors. Among them are revolutionary transformations in the modern world, the successes of science and the ever expanding process of secularization. In our society the crisis of religion is exacerbated as a result of socialist transformations, the cultural revolution, the development of science and education, the strengthening of the socialist way of life, the principles of collectivism, humanism and internationalism. The sources used to replenish religious organizations are being reduced, their sociodemographic structure is changing, and indifference to religion is growing. Religious obligations and interests are becoming secondary among believers, and the majority of them are beginning to realize the incongruity of religion's spiritual values and moral teachings with the spiritual world and way of life of our contemporaries.

Unable to comprehend the objective nature of these processes and at the same time wishing to block them, religious extremists along with bourgeois falsifiers explain the causes of the crisis of religion by "persecution of believers"

on the part of the "sthelstic state." This accounts for their attacks on socialist democracy and on hoviet laws on religious cults—under the pretext that all of this does not provide for true freedom of conscience in the USSR. In actual practice this failure to accept socialist legality often acquires the form of anarchistic actions in direct conflict with Soviet laws.

An analysis of the views, causal motives and activities of religious extremists of various denominations shows their close association with the intensifying ideological struggle between the capitalist and socialist systems at the current stage of social development. The influence of bourgeois propaganda can be graphically traced in the actions of religious extremists. Admiration of bourgeois denocracy, bourgeois "religious freedom," active assimilation of ideological myths and concepts of bourgeois-clerical propaganda are characteristic of them.

The myth of the "atheistic state" and "state atheism" in our country is the favorite stock phrase of bourgeois-clerical propaganda, spread by various types of "Sovietologista," "specialists" on matters of religion and the church in the USSR, who engage in falsification of the status of believers in socialist society (W. Kolarz, O. Foss, G. Simon, M. Bourdeau, A. Marten, and others). This myth has also been adopted by religious extremists. Thus, for example, the supporters of one of the groups of Reform-Adventists, the so-called All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh Day Adventists (leader V. A. Shelkov) in their "open letters" spread the slanderous assertion about the existence of a "dictatorship of state atheism."

The purpose of such falsifications disseminated by bourgeois ideologists and their religious extremist followers is clear: to subvert the spiritual and social unity of the Soviet people, to suggest to believers the idea of their inequality and thus to stimulate in them a negative attitude toward the organs of authority and toward Soviet laws.

In actuality, the Soviet socialist state is truly a democratic people's state. In accordance with the Constitution all citizens are equal, irrespective of their origin, social or property status, racial or national origin, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion or their occupation. The Constitution guarantees believers, like all Soviet citizens, the exercise of these rights in all spheres of economic, political, social and cultural life.

In accordance with the Constitution, freedom of conscience, i.e. the right to practice any religion or to practice no religion at all, to practice religious cults or to engage in atheist propaganda is guaranteed to Soviet citizens through the separation of church and state as well as school and church, the principle of noninterference of the state in the internal (worship, canonic) life of religious organizations, the allocation to believers of the necessary conditions for satisfying their religious needs and the monitoring by state organs of compliance with the laws on religious cults. Any fostering of animosity between believers and non-believers or between various groups of believers and the state is considered an anticonstitutional act. The Constitution proceeds on the premise that the further strengthening of the unity of believers and non-believers is necessary.

Therefore, all attempts of nourgeois-clerical propagands and religious extremists to drive a wedle between believers and non-believers or believers and the socialist state are doomed to failure. All Soviet people, both believers and non-believers, work honorably and conscientiously in building communism in our country, increasing the prosperity of the workers and strengthening the might of the Soviet state.

time needs also to say something about the connection, the intertwining of religious extremism with manifestations of nationalism in the areas of psychology and morality. They are connected first of all by a one-sided, hypertrophic and distorted absolutization in one case of nationalist, and in another of religious distinctions and the desire to place them above social and class distinctions. They are similar also in the common spiritual milieu in which they, as a rule, sprout: Philistinism, militant individualism, egoism, spiritual and ideological immaturity, social nihilism, and a low level of education, ideological principles and culture. As is known, extremes converge, and the manifestations of religious and national narrow-mindedness represent no exception in this respect.

Erroneous actions on the part of some representatives of local organs of authority who attempt to struggle against religious ideology by using administrative measures themselves violate the laws on religious cults and infringe on the lawful rights of believers are one of the factors promoting the activities of religious extremists. Instances of the application of administrative measures, as a rule, are connected with the failure to correctly understand the principles governing the withering away of religion and those causes which foster its continued existence in socialist society.

Intensification of extremist sentiments is also furthered by an underestimation of the need for systematic explanatory and educational work among religious core groups and the clergy. Experience shows that where effective work is carried out, religious extremism finds no fertile ground in which to grow.

An analysis of the total number of factors which play a role in the manifestation of religious extremism makes it possible to understand its essence more clearly and in greater depth. It is imbued with petty-bourgeois, individualistic, nationalistic and anarchistic tendencies. One of the main goals of the extremists is a reassessment of the relations in socialist society between the state and the church, relations codified in the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws on religious cults. Religious extremism is a specific type of relapse into petty-bourgeois individualistic psychology. It is no accident that among the extremists is a considerable number of persons with a shady past, persons dissatisfied with the Soviet way of life, currently in conflict with the organs of Soviet authority and concealing their antisocial views and sentiments under the cloak of religiosity.

There have been previous occasions on which such extreme views and actions were encountered, literally from the earliest years of the existence of the Soviet state. Among them first and foremost were the counter-revolutionary actions of some elements of the clergy and other actions which violated the laws of the Soviet state, first of all the Decree on the separation of church

and state as well as the school and church. Modern religious extremism thus has certain historical roots.

In a developed socialist society there are no social forces and groups interested in supporting and developing this phenomenon. Soviet people, including believers, condemn religious extremism. It remains the sphere of some individuals who attempt to find themselves supporters first of all among those religious groups which refuse to register.

In this connection the problem of the specific views of religious extremists needs to be considered. If we concern ourselves with the purely religious aspect of their activities, we will unlikely discern anything new which goes beyond the views of one or another denomination: Catholics remain Catholics, Baptists—Baptists, Pentecostalists—Pentecostalists. At the same time a study of the sentiments and views of the extremists, for example, within various trends in religious sectarianism, shows that a certain change of accents in the interpretation of religious dogma can be observed. This is the requirement for a more strict observance of the rules of religious life and especially certain norms associated with one's attitude toward society. Included here is the desire for maximum isolation from the "world." In dogma this is the emphasis on eschatological ideas, on preaching the priority of "divine laws" over "worldly laws," and so forth.

liowever, the distinction between the extremists and other believers does not coincide with that between traditionalists and advocates of adaptation to the spirit of the times. It goes beyond the sphere of dogma per se and concerns first of all questions connected with the attitude of the believer to society and the state. It is this which determines the specific views of religious extremists, irrespective of their denomination. Furthermore, as already noted, in the expression of these questions and the very approach to them one cannot ignore a certain influence of bourgeois propaganda and the adoption of traditional stereotypes disseminated by bourgeois propaganda centers.

The actions of the extremists cannot help but cause dissatisfaction among the non-extremists whom the former have misled. These believers are beginning to understand that the activities of the extremists go beyond those related to religion and are placing them in conflict with the state. Believers realize ever more that religious extremists are least of all concerned about the believers' interests. This results in a process of stratification and differentiation in religious groups where the extremist leaders hold sway and in their repudiation by the mass of believers.

Through the efforts of public organizations and state organs much has been accomplished in recent years in exposing and suppressing the unlawful actions of the extremists. On the other hand, one should admit that the struggle against religious extremists is as yet insufficiently effective. It requires the coordinated participation of various departments, the mass media and worker collectives. It is unthinkable without a thorough study of the sources of extremist tendencies and the factors which support them. One must observe

strictly the principle of a differentiated approach to non-extremists on the one hand and to their extremist leaders on the other. Any violations of the law should be publicized and an atmosphere of public condemnation of flagrant violators of law and order and organizers of unlawful actions needs to be created. As experience has shown, meetings in work collectives and at one's place of residence devoted to a discussion and condemnation of the antisocial activities of religious extremists play an important role. Particular attention is paid at such meetings to explaining the real harm which religious extremism causes believers themselves.

This form of work has proven its effectiveness in a number of oblasts of the Ukraine, the Russian Federation and in other union republics.

Educational work with the children from families of extremist believers requires special attention. In violation of Soviet laws the children from such families attend special children's prayer meetings and participate in religious activities. Religious extremists persistently attempt to instil in the children's consciousness antisocial ideas and a lack of respect for Soviet laws. Tact, caution and respect for believers' rights on the one hand, and persistent and systematic explanation of the harm which religious extremism does to children on the other are needed as nowhere else in the ideological-educational work with such children and their parents. In accordance with Soviet laws, the rights of parents, including believers, are closely connected with their obligations to instil in their children a sense of patriotism, a feeling of social duty, an awareness of one's civic duties and readiness to participate in socially useful labor.

The experience of the work of teachers, komsomol and pioneer organizations in a number of the country's republics and oblasts shows that success in educational work with children from believers' families can be achieved only when it is conducted systematically and accompanied by a persistent search for such forms and methods effective on an individual basis which would neutralize the influence of the religious micromilieu and promote the development of the children's social activities.

Education which instils patriotism and internationalism, promotion of the principles of socialist morals and the socialist way of life, knowledge of the law, explanation of Soviet laws on religious cults and the formation of a scientific world outlook are one of the important directions in ideological-educational work with those believers who, deluded, fall under the influence of religious extremists. From this follows the importance of lectures and discussions on such subjects as "The Spiritual and Moral Values of Scientific Atheism," "Atheism and Spiritual Life," "Atheism and Morality," and others.

The struggle against religious extremism is one of the important tasks of atheist educational work.

#### FOUTBUTES

- 1. Just such a definition is given by the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (vol. 30, p. 19), the Smaller Soviet Encyclopedia (vol. 10, p. 778), the Shorter Political Dictionary (Noscow, 1978, p. 408).
- 2. I. I. srazhnik, b. I. Gal'perin, V. A. Kuroyedov, G. S. Lyalina, A. T. Hoskalenko and others deal with the antisocial and unlawful nature of the activities of religious, in particular sectarian, extremists.
- 3. V. A. Kuroyedov, The Soviet State and the Church, Moscow, 1976, p. 59.
- 4. "Izvestiya" published on 12 May 1979 an article by V. Kassis and M. Mikhaylov entitled "What happened in the Bunker of the 'Apostle'" about the antisocial activities of this group.
- 5. For example, evidence of this is provided by the letters of believers who have broken with the Evangelical Christian Baptist council of churches (cf.: "Bratskiy vestnik," 1971, Nº 4, p. 19 and others).

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NATIONAL.

#### NEW FILM ON AFGHANISTAN REVIEWED

Movie of Contrasts

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA social correspondent V. Kosheleva: "Headlong Into the Future (Movie 'Afghanistan: The Revolution Continues' Has Appeared on the Screen"]

[Text] Thousands of kilometers are behind us -- kilometers that have crossed the mountain passes and have twisted around the hairpin turns in the Pamirs, kilometers along the roadless deserts and along crowded. noisy city streets. Thousands of kilometers of film, in which each frame is a living document of very important reforms in the country. The work on the documentary film "Afghanistan: The Revolution Continues" lasted for almost a year. The picture was created by a large creative collective of cinematographers from the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. On the Soviet side the participants were IZVESTIYA correspondent K. Rashidov; political commentator from Central Television A. Bovin; a creative group from the Motion-Picture Studio for Popular-Scientific and Documentary Films in Uzbenkistan -- operators T. Nadyrov, Sh. Makhmudov, K. Khasanov. The group was headed by USSR National Artist motion-picture director M. Kayumov. The Afganfil'm [Afghan Film] Studio was represented by motion-picture operators A. Alil, V. Latifi, and T. Geshtalay.

The depictive aspect of the film has many faces. It is as variegated and picturesque as the design on an Eastern carpet. Only its range of colors is uniform — the colors are in a major key and are fully saturated. Thus, the depictive structure of the motion-picture canvas conveys to the viewer a sense of upsurge that Afghanistan is living today. With the shackles of feudalism removed, the nation has awakened and has started to live a new life, the starting point of which was 27 April 1978, the first day of the revolution.

People in the country met that revolution in various ways, and it was reflected in various ways in people's fates. For some it was a time of

anxietics and atonement. For others it was a time of hopes and achievements. But for everyone one thing is immutable: the revolution has drawn everyone into its maelstrom. No one has been left on the outside. Like all class conflicts, the revolution in Afghanistan divided the population into two camps. That political, social, and psychological alternative is the chief ideological direction taken in the motion picture. The structure of the film based on the principle of juxtaposition, the associative contrasts between the adjacent frames, the parallel montage techniques used by director M. Kayumov intensify even more, and emphasize, the importance of everything that is depicted.

- . . The doors of the palaces are thrown wide open for the nation and simultaneously the heavy gates of the prison where political prisoners have been languishing are also opened up.
- . . On a city square, to the accompanisent of the crowd's rejoicing, promissory notes are burned and happy, excited old men, women, and children are given official documents guaranteeing them the right to receive land.
- . . . The peaceful labor of plowmen. Then, right there on the plowed field, the crossed submachine guns of the members of the national guard who are protecting the population against inroads by enemies.
- . . . Gray-bearded old men who have taken paper and pencil in hand for the first time in their lives -- and the open faces of the girl students at Kabul University.

Labor and struggle, poverty and luxury, the grief of losing one's loved ones and the joy of victory — the picture is full of such juxtapositions of the dark side and the bright side of the life of the Afghan nation, as the picture graphically explains to the viewer the final goal and the highest sense of the struggle being waged in the country.

Interwoven into the design of the picture, which is mostly in colors, are black and white frames taken from historical newreels, which show how the contacts were established between the young Country of Soviets and Afghanistan. At that time an Afghan mission went to Moscow for a meeting with Lenin, and negotiations were conducted with M. I. Kalinin and G. V. Chicherin. Good-neighborly relations develop. They find their confirmation in the joint and fruitful cooperation between the two countries. In dozens of gigantic projects such as the Jelalabad Hydroelectric Station and the world's largest alpine motor highway, which were constructed with aid from the Soviet Union. The film is replete with rich factual material, and conveys to the viewer valuable information about the life of Afghanistan. The frames are accompanied by the firm, laconic text of commentator A. Bovin.

In its genre the film "Afghanistan: The Revolution Continues" is of the documentary public-affairs type. But it is also an emotional work. Every episode, every frame is extremely meaningful, deep, and picturesque. And

although the movie does not have a main character (the hero of the picture is a collective person, the Afghan nation), there stand out in this crowded and variegated picture, like bright spots in the crowd, several persons, among whom one who is especially interesting is Khalima, a mother of five children. It is difficult to determine her age, since need and insuperable labor have made her old before her time. But her eyes shine brightly, her smile makes her face younger and more beautiful when she receives land for her own use. She works so selflessly on that little piece of land. She distributes so sparingly and carefully among the children the bread that has been baked from the grain that was harvested on their own field. The first bread of hope! The first grains of happiness! For it was in the name of the happiness of such simple workers that the revolution was carried out. Khalima's family, united, gathered together on its own land, has become a symbol for the entire Afghan nation.

The film begins and ends with the same kind of symbolic frames, which have become the key to the entire story.

Like a white cloud, the doves cover Mazari-Sharif Square. Thousands of doves slowly flutter from under the feet of the passers-by, trustfully land on their shoulders, and circle around the movie-camera lens, as though posing for the operator. It is not by accident that the people have yielded the central part of Kabul to the power of these beautiful birds. The dove is the symbol of peace. The nation of Afghanistan wants peace and happiness, and it is for the sake of them that it has taken the path of waging the struggle. The film makers deliberately refrain from putting the final "dot on the i", since the revolution in the country is still continuing. The circle has not been closed, providing the beginning for the next turn to rush headlong into the future. It is into that future that the Afghan nation is moving at a headlong rate.

#### Sixth International Film Festival

Moscow 12VESTIYA in Russian 21 May 80 p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondents G. Dimov and Yu. Cherepanov, Tashkent: "Art Serves Peace (Movie Festival Opens in Tashkent)"]

[Text] The international authority and popularity of the motion-picture festival in Tashkent is generally recognized. The festival is distinguished by its scope, its bread of programs, and its imposing nature. And this pertains not only to the number of countries participating it it, but also — and it is necessary to emphasize this — the record number of cinematographics, which are sometimes marked by the uniqueness of creative trends, but which identically follow the elevated slogan "For peace, social progress, and the freedom of nations."

"I have attended a lot of movie festivals," says the famous Soviet movie director, Lenin Prize Winner, and People's Artist of the RSFSR Grigoriy

Chukhray, a constant guest and "veteran" of the Tanhkent movie featival, "but the featival in Tanhkent has its own unrepeatable face. This is a real featival of friendship and the solidarity of the progressive cinematographers. I have never seen any pained faces here. The people come to Tanhkent in order to show one another all the best things that have been created by the cinematographies of three continents. In a very friendly way they share what has been achieved, and exchange their experience and their idean in an atmosphere of exceptional cordiality and genuine comradeship. . ."

Yes, it is for good reason that the Tashkent film festival is called the festival of discoveries. Talking to Wahab Saleh, a director from Iraq, we recall our meetings and long discussions with the Egyptian actor, director, playwright, poet, and social figure Abdurrahman al-Hamisi, who this year became an International Lenin Prize Winner. Yes, it can be said that Tashkent discovered him back in 1972. And he fell in love eternally with this sunny city of friendship. We remember another trip that he made here -- to the conference of writers of Asia and Africa two years ago. We remember the ovation that his appearance caused in the audience at the Arts Palace. He stood on the stage, resting on the shoulder of his interpreter -- poet Sergey Golubev (at that time al-Hamisi had come here after a severe illness, before he had completely recovered, and despite his doctors' orders). He read ardent lines from his poem "The Oath," dedicated to his long-suffering homeland.

Tashkent also discovered the name of Sebastian Alacron, the Chilean director who showed his first documentary film here and who later became at the Moscow Film Festival one of the prize winners -- for his art film "Night Over Chile." The festival screens of Tashkent contributed to the world glory of the famous Senegalese movie director and author, and International "Lotos" Prize Winner, Semben Usman.

We might also mention here the name of the young Afghan movie director Vali Latifi. We recall our meeting with him at the Fifth Tashkent Movie Pestival — it was at that time that USSR People's Artist Malik Kayumov made the offer to him to create a joint film about the April Revolution in Afghanistan. And now we have the picture "Afghanistan: The Revolution Continues" on the film screen today. We have a talk with Vali Latifi, and he tells us about the tragic days that the Afghan nation had experienced during the black days of the rule of the Amin clique. He speaks woefully about the persecutions that the revolutionary intellectuals were subjected to. He recalls with gratitude that happy day when, at the request of the legal government, the Soviet Union stretched out the hand of friendly assistance to Afghanistan.

"I am glad that I came to Tashkent," Vali Latifi adds. "I am happy to take part in this splendid festival of friendship and solidarity. I have sensed once again the great weapon that our art is if it serves the ideals of social progress, and serves the happiness of nations and the struggle for peace. If it keeps in step with the times."

In the evening, the lights were turned on at the Arts Palace where, by tradition, the festivals open.

A special holiday air was imparted by the message that was sent to the participants and guests of the Sixth International Movie Pestival in Tashkent by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. To the accompaniment of the tumultous applause of those present, the message was read by Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Sh. R. Rashidov.

The festival participants and guests were wished well by the chairman of its organizational committee, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Uzbek SSR, R. Kh. Abdullayev; chairman of USSP Goskino [Central State Photography and Motion-Picture Enterprise] F. T. Yermash; chairman of the executive committee of the Tashkent City Soviet V. A. Kazimov; and representatives of the public in the republic's capital.

The flag of the Sixth International Review of Progressive Movies from Three Continents has been raised.

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN COMMENTARY ON GROMYKO, PRIMARIES, RESCUE ATTEMPT

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 29 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by KOMUNISTI Political Commentator S. Tsintsadze under rubric "KOMUNISTI's Commentary": "Last Week. The Dialogue Continues. Chronicle of the Primary Elections. Disappointed Saboteurs"]

[Text] Soviet-French relations have long been an important factor of international life: contacts between the two countries have been especially constructive since the time when General De Gaulle set out on a course of strengthened national sovereignty and foreign policies independent of Washington. Especially noteworthy are the Soviet Union's and France's efforts to reduce tension in Europe and stabilize a climate of mutually-beneficial peaceful cooperation. Moscow's and Paris's positions are coinciding more and more often in key issues of international life. Specific importance attaches to these relations now, when Washington is trying in every way to embroil as many countries of the world as possible in its anti-Soviet campaign.

In light of all this, it is only logical that international circles have shown such animated interest in USSR Foreign Affairs Minister A. Gromyko's visit to Paris. At a press conference, the Soviet Minister expressed a positive assessment of the results of the visit. In particular, he stressed the fact that economic relations between the two countries are expanding day by day. In addition to the fact that the agreements drawn up last year when L. I. Brezhnev visited France are being implemented systematically, successful negotiations are also underway on new contacts; this is proof that the French government has not gone along with the provocational boycott campaign. As for international politics, no one here expected absolute agreement, but the main thing is that differences of opinion on some issues have not hindered normal relations.

Primary elections have been held in two more American states—Pennsylvania and Michigan. After a series of defeats, Senator E. Kennedy won. It is true that in both states he won by a bare majority, but his victory may bode ill for the president. Special mention must be made of several factors. First, President Carter is obviously not averse to using his position to

influence the outcome of the elections. This is indicated by Transportation Secretary Goldsmith's actions in Pennsylvania a few days before the primaries, when he openly threatened that the state would lose 120 million dollars in federal aid if it did not vote for Carter. Second, the Pennsylvania primaries came at the same time as the imposition of sanctions against Iran, which in our opinion was not just a coincidence. The conclusion to be drawn is that the "Iran card" is no longer paying political dividends to Carter. Third, Washington's military adventure in Iran came one day before the Michigan primaries. We think that the adventure left its mark on the outcome of the Michigan primaries. What conclusions do these factors lead us to? There is a clear feeling that American voters are losing interest in foreign policy matters. Americans' greatest concerns are still domestic problems, above all inflation, and this bodes no good for Carter. Carter and his advisors believed to the last moment that foreign affairs would be the panacea which would ensure victory in the elections. This led a well-known American figure, Martin, to say "I do not recall any other president making such obvious use of foreign affairs for the sake of victory in elections." Indications now are that the situation is changing. It will be clarified by the outcome of the upcoming primaries in the big state of California. If Kennedy wins there (and wins decisively), we will be able to speak cautiously in favor of his chances. The situation is also complicated by the fact that Teddy (as the American media usually call Edward Kennedy) is in his own personal character markedly inferior to his late brothers.

As far as Carter is concerned, it is worth noting that his popularity declined markedly in late April for the first time since last November. The American newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR reported the following: general approval of the president's performance declined from 53 percent to 40 percent; approval of his foreign policies declined from 45 to 34 percent; approval of his economic policies declined from 27 to 23 percent; approval for his course of action with regard to the Soviet Union declined from 57 to 39 percent; and approval for his handling of the hostage crisis declined from 55 to 49 percent.

The sensational news spread all over the world—the Americans had attempted to free the hostages by force, but the attempt ended in utter failure. The actual situation is gradually becoming clearer. Just five days after the American diplomats were taken captive in Tehran, the formulation of a diversionary plan was undertaken in America. Under conditions of supersecrecy, the Pentagon's special units drew up a meticulously detailed plan at the Fort Bragg Military Base. When everything was ready in Iran, in the Deshte-Revri Desert, the saboteurs (diversanty) began to gather at a secret air base. At the crucial moment, unforeseen technical complications alone forced Carter to cancel the adventure, but the affair was not without its victims: according to the official White House version, eight American saboteurs died and several were wounded when two American aircraft crashed. Well, as the saying goes, yoke an ox to another ox... It appears that Carter drew the wrong conclusions from the Entebbe example. To be sure,

three years ago [sic] Israeli "commandos" managed to free their hostages by force in the Entebbe airport in Uganda, but one can hardly compare this poorly-guarded airport on the outskirts of the city with the well-defended embassy in the middle of Tehran! After the Entebbe incident, Egyptian President Sadat tried to pull the same thing off, but everyone remembers very well the unfortunate ending of that attempt. What did Carter really hope to accomplish? Not only that, can we permit in these times the kind of military adventure which could easily turn into a bloodbath? Doesn't this indicate that the Washington administration has lost its bearings and is hoping to regain its prestige with wholly unjustified, extravagant, cowboy methods? Be that as it may, one thing is clear: it would be hard to find a political figure in the world today who would wish to be in Carter's shoes. The fate of the hostages is now even more difficult—Khomeini has declared that they are being separated from one another and hidden in various regions of Iran.

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REGIONAL

#### GEORGIAN COMMENTARY ON AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE WORLD

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 24 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by G. Kalandadze under rubric "International Theme": "Reality Unmasked"]

[Text] The danger posed to the Western world by the East is implacable and deadly. The red monster threatens to devour "supreme freedom." With a lightning blow the Russians can overrun all Europe and impose their domination on everyone and everything. The Soviet threat is a real one, and the next act of aggression can happen any time unless it is confronted with a more powerful force which can stop it. And the West is gathering strength, arming itself, and preparing itself in anticipation of the whirlwind strike. This is the amazing picture being painted in many countries. It is a shocking one, and it also serves as a crooked mirror reflecting the faces of its authors, although much enlarged, rather ridiculous, and possibly more accurate.

Can a man of good will not be astonished and disturbed by the scenario of a military exercise recently published in the Swiss Labor Party newspaper FORWARTS?

... Tanks of the Warsaw Pact attack Switzerland from the north, south, and east. Atomic bombs are dropped on the capital city Bern, Zurich is in flames, and Soviet air force troops have landed in Geneva. The Soviet Union is also using bacteriological and chemical weapons...

This is not an isolated example. Similar hysterical scenes are common now in the West. These are the statements of those who hope to keep their dominating position just a little while longer in the era of the breaking of the chains of colonialism and imperialism, who hope to avoid the revenge of the working people through force and trickery. But it is no longer possible these days to fool people with lies and hypocrisy. Progressive humanity knows the truth, it knows the source of the threat to world peace.

United States President J. Carter has declared more than once that Washington is pursuing a policy of force and that in dealing with the Soviet Union it is possible to rely only on "force."

But why has the United States had to return to the position of strength, blackmail, and the policies of the "Cold War?" Obviously, in order to restore its damaged prestige in Europe and Africa, the Middle East and Indochina. Probably no one in Washington believes that Moscow can be frightened. The American leaders need this worsening of relations with the Soviet Union in order to frighten the world and convince everyone of their strength.

Can the friendly aid being given to Afghanistan possibly be construed as Soviet aggression? Nor is the Iranian-American crisis the cause of the increasing world tension. The fact is that imperialism's spheres of influence are shrinking, the national-liberation movement is spreading. But this is something the highly-developed countries of the West cannot reconcile themselves to, especially their leader--the United States of America.

This is why the White House administration is avoiding negotiations designed to ensure a secure peace in the world and is rejecting constructive proposals. In 1978, the Soviet Union proposed to the West that the ratio of military forces in Central Europe be fixed, and in late 1979 the Soviet Union began a unilateral withdrawal of military forces from Central Europe. In response to this, the number of NATO's armed forces in the region is growing. Instead of being reduced, the American armed forces contingent in Europe has risen substantially in the past three years. Under American pressure, a NATO council session meeting in Washington in 1978 adopted a 15-year, 80 billion dollar program—the biggest in NATO history. In December 1979, NATO decided to deploy 572 medium—range missiles in Western Europe.

By order of American Defense Secretary Brown, the Stars and Stripes were raised above General Paul Kelley's headquarters at (Macdill) Air Force Base in Florida. This marked the commissioning of the "rapid deployment force," which is assigned special tasks and functions. The theater of operations of the units of this 100,000-man outfit encompasses the whole world, any region of the globe where America's interests are "threatened."

"Rapid deployment" by this outil, of course, requires the use of the territories of allies and partners. America is now negotiating with a number of countries. Washington is trying to get the use of military bases in a number of countries, because the strategy of the "corps" is closely linked to the expansion and strengthening of American military bases and facilities. America already has a wide network of military bases and facilities all over the world. The Western media report that there are more than 2,500 located in 30 countries. The Pentagon always has 500,000 officers and men abroad.

The newspaper L'HUMANITE reports that the biggest contingent is stationed in the FRG, with 240,000 American troops. There are more than 22,000 in Britain. There are similar large military units in the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey, and other European countries.

American military strength in the Western Pacific and in East Asia exceeds 123,000. The United States military bases are also located in Latin America. A clear picture of the deployment of American military bases throughout the world can be seen in the chart shown here [not shown], drawn by ADN.

America is paying more and more attention to the development of new weapons. The WASHINGTON STAR reports that the Pentagon is especially concerned with the development of the B-1 strategic bomber, which is to be equipped with laser weapons and cruise missiles. According to the Pentagon's plan, this aircraft can be put into production in the near future. The photograph below [not shown] shows a prototype of the latest bomber.

The Americans are also placing their hopes on the new XM-1 tank. They think that this 60-ton giant will be superior to the best current models. By order of Defense Secretary Brown, production of this tank, manufactured by the Chrysler Corporation, is to be tripled. A total of 352 are to be produced by the end of this fiscal year, and 569 next year; the total cost is one billion dollars. This new tank is shown during tests in the picture below [not shown].

However the warmongers try to mask their intentions, it is crystal clear to those truly struggling for peace who is threatening whom. The lies behind which the Western imperialists are trying to hide are all too obvious.

6854 CSO: 1810 REGIONAL

## GEORGIAN OFFICIALS ON USE OF WASTES FOR LIVESTOCK FEED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 8 Apr 80 p 2

[Roundtable under rubric "KOMUNISTI Seeks Reserves": "A Statesmanlike Approach to the Use of Industrial Wastes"]

[Excerpts] "Meat production has been rising too slowly for some years now. Among other factors, people blame protein imbalance in feeds. I do not doubt that this problem is a real one, but I am convinced that, considering the present scale of spending on livestock farming at today's level of the national economy, this and other problems could be resolved much more quickly."

L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum.

Our roundtable discussion today touches upon a problem of urgent importance to the state. Our readers must agree that there are abundant production wastes in our meat and dairy industry as well as in the food industry and other economic sectors. To process and make rational use of them would be a highly effective means of providing high-quality feeds for livestock farming.

We hope, therefore, that discussion of this matter will continue. Scientists, specialists, and officials of the republic's ministries and planning committees should also make their voice of authority heard.

# A. Movsesyan, GSSR Meat and Dairy Industry Minister

As is well known, the 25th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU CC have repeatedly dealt with the question of increasing the production of high-quality combination feeds for livestock farming and processing available meat industry wastes in particular for use in feeds.

In this regard, we still have considerable untapped reserves in the ministry system. We are not making maximum use of animal blood, hides, bones, and so forth to obtain essential proteins and fats for livestock and poultry farming.

I do not mean to imply that the enterprises of the republic's meat industry are not procuring these materials. We definitely are, but life itself attests that more is necessary. Only 10 out of 22 meat combines are producing protein and fat materials, meat and bone meal, from organic wastes.

It is true that last year we produced 3,500 tons of dry substance--527 tons more than in 1978 (about 250 tons of protein), that is, 100 tons above the annual plan. But this figure is far below our capability. On the basis of organizational-technical measures, therefore, this year we will substantially increase the production of such components to be used in livestock farming. We are encountering difficulties in this matter. We do not have dry substance shops everywhere. For this reason, we are having to send the material elsewhere to places where it can be processed. But because of the specific properties of the material, losses occur. We had this in mind when we planned the construction of new industrial facilities for the Bogdanovka Akhaltsikhe, Samtredia, Tsiteltskaro, Giorgitsminda, and other meat combines, which are to go into operation this year.

And there is a new development. This year we will supply the republic's livestock industry with 500 tons of dry feed of animal and vegetable origin. We are preparing such feeds from previously unused industrial lard and cattle stomachs.

Enterprises of the meat industry system have taken the first steps to use the protein substances from horns and hooves to produce a highly-nutritious feed for livestock--milk substitute. In this way we will make a substantial amount of milk available for other purposes instead of feeding it to young livestock.

A test batch of this product has already been produced in the Sukhumi Meat Combine. It is planned that soon this enterprise will boost its productivity to 250 to 280 tons a year.

There is one problem. Because of the shortage of industrial capacity, we have not been able to fully process all livestock bones and have, for this reason, been obliged to send most of this material outside the republic. As mentioned above, this year the Tbilisi Meat Combine will put a special bone processing shop into operation. This will enable us to process 3,000 tons of bones to make bone meal instead of 1,500 tons.

The foregoing once again attests to the serious work that will have to be done by the workers of our system in order to prepare high-quality livestock feeds from meat production wastes. This matter has been repeatedly discussed by the ministry's board of directors, and appropriate measures have been

taken. For this reason, today's topic in the pages of KOMUNISTI is a welcome and necessary matter.

# A. Kozmanishvili, GSSR First Deputy Agriculture Minister

The questions raised by the specialists of the Meat and Dairy Industry Ministry certainly merit our attention. Today, indeed, the matter of nutritious livestock feed is in a deplorable state. We do not have enough mineral substances and many other feed energy components, in particular proteins, which are especially essential in the development of livestock farming.

The feeds supplied to us by the meat industry are not being properly utilized on our kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Let me add, however, that we are making successful use of fats and other dry substances to make combination poultry feeds. And since we are discussing today the matter of preparing high-quality livestock feeds, an extremely vital role is assigned, naturally, to the use of animal fats to be blended in cattle diets. But this must not be done in a primitive manner. The feed ingredients must be determined scientifically and prepared on an industrial basis. In our opinion, all of this should be coordinated by organizations of the GSSR Procurement Ministry, because they have the capability to melt down and stabilize fats in the combination feed plants.

Recently the republic's meat and dairy industry has begun to produce dry vegetable fat feeds from various kinds of wastes. We have recommended that our kolkhozes and sovkhozes use these feeds, and the results have been good. It would be better, however, if we blended this feed with other components in the form of grains and fodder. We can make use of the feeds supplied by the meat and dairy industry where we have inter-farm feed preparation plants and shops. Blending feed in a primitive manner, using an old-fashioned shovel, doesn't do us much good: it can lead to livestock poisoning and other unpleasant results.

I repeat, the meat and dairy industry should supply the Procurement Ministry with processed and dry wastes, and the latter, in turn, should supply agriculture with the finished product.

As for liquid wastes supplied to us by enterprises of the meat industry to enrich livestock feed, pretty good use is being made of them. But there is one serious problem which needs to be resolved as soon as possible. It is essential that we be insured against the liquid's containing bacilla that cause brucellosis, tuberculosis, and other diseases. The liquid must be sterilized twice. Who can give us this guarantee? The Meat and Dairy Industry Ministry, of course, the organization from which we directly receive this feed component. The same thing applies to the use of whey as feed.

We must do everything possible to avoid livestock diseases in the so-called closed cycle. What does this mean? It means, for example, that tuberculosis can spread from the farm to the meat combine and back again through dry and liquid feed components. If the liquid is sterilized thoroughly, of course, animal protein feeds can greatly promote livestock growth and weight gain.

There is great demand for bone meal. Used as livestock feed, it yields excellent results at any time of the year, especially in the early spring. This is the season when the sheep are driven to summer pastures. Phosphorus and calcium are especially essential for weaned lambs: and these substances make up 85 and 99 percent, respectively, of bone meal. Making extensive use of bone meal to feed young livestock will enable us to prevent rickets and lay a firm foundation for livestock development. Now that we need it, we are getting bone meal from enterprises of the meat and dairy industry, but not enough to meet our needs. It is a matter of the quality of the bone grinding operations. The bones must be ground thoroughly to eliminate large chunks. At present, the agriculture ministry has 273 shops which are fully equipped to introduce bone meal into feeds in the proper amounts. By this I mean to say that we can use bone meal to feed livestock if we have enough of it, and if it is supplied to us in thoroughly processed and sterilized form.

And finally, in order for us to use animal feeds supplied by the Meat and Dairy Industry Ministry on the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes, a definite unified system will have to be created on the farms. What does this mean? We must determine precisely the quantity and quality of the animal wastes supplied to us, we must resolve the problem of feed sterilization, scientific diets, and guarantee of livestock health.

After scientific substantiation of all the foregoing, such feeds, enriched with proteins and dry substances, must be prepared quickly and unconditionally on an industrial basis.

6854 CSO: 1810

## REGIONAL.

# UZBEK LITERARY PAPER FEATURES ANTI-AMIN AFGHAN POET

Tashkent OZBEKISTAN MADANIYATI in Uzbek 27 May 80 p 4

[Article by Academician Vahid Zahid Zahidov and Arif Usmanov, Senior Research worker of the Eastern Studies Institute imeni Abu Rayhan Beruniy of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR: "A Empassioned Poet"]

[Text] That country has an ancient and rich culture that is a glory to the world and is of importance to all mankind. It is a holy land where great scientific, literary and sophisticated arts figures have drawn breath, lived and created treasures for the world.

That beloved country is a land that is accounted the property of a great, highly gifted, extremely complex, very open-hearted, labor and peace loving people.

That honorable and courageous country is the land of a heroic people that has brought forth heroic examples in tense war and struggle throughout the centuries, that has become tempered in these struggles and has, finally, gained its freedom in the Great April Revolution and become master of its own fate.

That empassioned poet and great literary figure Sulayman Laiq is one of the leading revolutionary poets of that same very close neighbor and brother of the Soviet Union, the Afghanistan Democratic Republic. He is a child of the wonderful and friendly people and is one who expresses the ideas of that people and country and struggles for them.

Sulayman Laiq was born in 1927 in Puli-khumri city in Afghanistan's Baghlan province. He completed technical school and university training in Kabul. Up until now he has worked in the Literature Department of Kabul University, with Kabul Radio, and in the offices of magazine and newspapers published in Kabul. He has been a member of the Afghanistan People's Democratic Party since its foundation in 1965. In 1978, after the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan, Laiq became part of the government headed by Nurmuhammad Taraki, taking charge of the Radio and Television Administration. In October, 1979, however, after the tyrant Hafizulla Amin and

his gang of criminals, crocks and murderers took power S. Laiq was dismissed from his job, along with thousands and tens of thousands of true patriots. He was unjustly expelled from the ranks of the Afghanistan People's Democratic Party and thrown into the terrible prison called "Puli-charkhi." On 27 December 1979, after the great revolutionary change brought about under the control of the Afghanistan People's Democratic Party under the leadership of that brave and wise child of the people, Babrak Karmal, Sulayman Laiq, together with other patriotic friends, was released from the "Puli-charkhi" and again became active and vigorous in social, scientific and literary life. He is now a member of the Council of the Afghanistan Democratic Republic and is president of the Afghanistan Academy of Sciences.

Sulayman Laiq is a great poet with tremendous authority within his own country. He creates equally in both the Pashto and Persian (Dari) languages and is always describing, with great skill and a fervid heart, the yearnings, good will, love of labor and heavy misfortunes of his beloved people and the happiness obtained by them after the April Revolution.

The poetry collections "Chunghar," "Kegdey" and "Memories of a Life" have been published by Sulayman Laiq. Another poetry collection, called "Two Shores, One River" has been published in Tajikistan.

During the last few years S. Laiq, who has made a transition from a critical to a socialist realism in the heated literary environment in Afghanistan, has been a powerful revolutionary poet. Having been tempered in the fire of the nationalist democratic movements and revolutionary anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles, that have taken place in Afghanistan since the Second World War, he has become a popular and patriotic writer armed with the most advanced ideology.

His first poetry collection was originally published in Kabul 20-22 years ago under the name "Chunghar." Contained in this collection are generally the carliest poems of the poet. In this poetry we can see Laiq's early revolutionary-romantic poetic character.

Laiq's second collection, called "Kegdey," was published in India in 1969 by the Indian Communist Party. Twenty-five poems of the poet were included in that collection.

Laiq as popular revolutionary poet can be seen precisely and clearly in his "Kegdey" collection. In one poem in that collection the heroic Afghan people, which has brought forth wonderous miracles in Asia and has waged a courageous struggle against black regional oppression and international reaction, is praised to the skies with the love given to a faithful son. Laiq honors his own mother people in flowing, warm and sincere strophies:

O brave people, do you know who you are?
You are a great power, you are a great nation.
You--are liberty, and joy.
You--are justice, and a miracle.\*

Sulayman Laiq was the poet who has the first to treat Soviet themes in modern Afghan literature. Even during the black period of the rule of Zahirshah and Muhammad Davud he sang loudly the praises of the Soviet Union and its brave and courageous people in Afghanistan. Laiq, in his sharp journalistic writings and fervid poems magnifies the great buildings constructed in Afghanistan with USSR economic and technical assistance and waxed excitedly ten to twenty years ago about the great successes to be achieved in the future through the Afghan-Soviet friendship, writing with special passion. Laiq made several journeys to the Soviet Union in the 1960s and 70s and wrote some amazing poems based upon these journeys. One of the poems dealing with Soviet themes is called "D' Neva P' Ghara" (On the Banks of the Neva). Laiq praised the great and courageous city of Leningrad, the cradle of the Great October Revolution, the source of inspiration and hope for the people of the world, as follows:

This place is the revolution's cradle.

An ancient nest of mighty falcons,

It is a new home for a new people,

for those without hope it is a refuge of hope.

The poem "Last Will" in the "Kegdey" collection of S. Laiq also merits much attention. This poem is a Pashto translation of the poem "Testament" by the great Ukrainian people's revolutionary democrat and fervid poet Taras Shevchenko. S. Laiq has always said proudly that: "I wrote that poem (translation) in heroic Kiev when I was inspired at the monument of the great Shevchenko."

Also in the collection is the poem "Conversation with a Court Poet." This is characteristic work for defining S. Laiq's creative stance. This poem shows the path chosen by the author in the 1960s. In this great poem S. Laiq talks and argues with a court poet and, passing the time of day with ruling class offal, reveals his own critical position against obsequious

<sup>\*</sup>Poems are translated literally.

poet flatterers who praise it to the akies. He glorifies his way, the way of real service to the people, the revolutionary way, the way of loyal service to the homeland:

You--are the light-hearted and capricious poets
of feasting and pleasure.

I--am the poet who sings
of those in prison
unjustly dead.

I--am the poet who writes
of the torture and suffering
of my dear country.

I--sing of the hunger and suffering
of the peasants.

I--sing of the heroic struggles
of the workers.

The poems "To a Poet" and "To Ajmal," from the collection "Kegdey," were also read with particular interest and loved by his Afghan poet friends. They were dedicated by Sulayman Laiq to Ajmalkhan Khatak, a famous Pashto poet, revolutionary personality and struggler. The Pashto speaking people living in both Pakistan and Afghanistan esteem Ajmalkhan Khatak highly and love to read his ardent poetry, written against despotism, English invasion and neo-colonialism. Sulayman Laiq, in his poem "To a Poet," written for his soul mate and fellow writer Ajmalkhan during a very difficult time, expresses hope and the poet's faith in the future to Ajmalkhan:

Look, this oppression is temporary, don't despair. O Ajmal! After the dark night the sun rises.

Another poetry collection of Sulayman Laiq, "Memories of Life," was published in Kabul in 1978, after the victory of the April Revolution.

Nurmuhammad Taraki wrote the introduction to the anthology and praised the poet highly and expressed his deep appreciation and love. The famous leading Afghan writers and journalists Bariq Shafeiy and Amin Afghanpur also wrote prefaces and, in turn, praised the author highly. The comments of these persons again and again praised the poet Laiq as the greatest revolutionary, popular and patriotic poet of the new Afghan poetry. Afghanpur, for example, wrote that: "We see no evidence whatever that Laiq, during his entire meaningful life, ever praised the representatives of the ruling class, compromised with them or collaborated with them in committing merciless acts. Laiq always has viewed the ruling class critically, unmasked their crimes, praised beauty and fineness, defended the people's way of life, and developed his poetry by tempering it in struggle and revolution."

This contention is borne out in fact. Sulayman Laiq, in poems in his collection "Memories of Life," shows himself a true people's poet, the defender of heroic laborers, toiling peasants, ardent workers or, in short, of Afghanistan, the beloved and esteemed poet of a toiling, friendly people, the revolutionary Afghan people, now heroically struggling against wicked imperialism in Asia. From this point of view Laiq's poem "The Future" is particularly relevant. In the poem Laiq says to his follows: "I strive to raise high the powerful voice of my people. My every sound is a shield against oppressors. My every verse is a habitation of love for the powerless. ? never write poetry celebrating low elements of society, but I always praise good men."

In his poetry Sulayman Laiq calls for the unity of all Afghan nationalities and peoples and urges them to strengthen their friendship and cooperation: "If you are unified among yourselves, you will become strong and none will be able to overcome you. Only, and only if you unite, will you be able to keep your homeland free and independent. By doing so your homeland will be well-equipped and self-sufficient." The feelings in Laiq's heart are revealed in the poem "O Wind of a New Age," contained in the anthology "Memories of Life":

O Pastuns, O Uzbeks. O Hazaras of the tall mountains O Turkmens, O Tajiks. O you great Afghan tribes. Be together as one! I shall give myself unto you. O wind of a new age. Rustling, rustling, blow calmly on! 0 bright sun of life. Shine more brightly still.

When we read through the collection "Memories of Life" we encounter poems on Soviet themes again and again. The poem "Song of the Falcon" holds particular interest for the reader. Basis of the poem is Aleksey Maksimovich Gor'kiy's famous "Song of the Falcon," which Laiq has so marvelously put into Pashto that the folkloristic narrative reads eloquently and movingly in Pashto. The poems "A Question of a Kiss," Mayakovskiy" and "O My Homeland" are also on Soviet themes and in them the poet remembers his vulnerable Afghan homeland and mourns for his country and the people's suffering. The great poem called "At Dawn," very similar in style to a popular romance, was written by Sulayman Laiq a year before the April Revolution of 1978 and

is dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Liberation Revolution. The poet impatiently awaits the glorious dawn which will also come to his own country and rejoices in the beginning of the April Revolution among the Afghan people. He sings with great sincerity and joy of the dawn of freedom, the revolutionary dawn. Sulayman Laiq is also the creator of wonderful lyric poems. In them the secrets of love and the joy of reunion after long separation is sung with very great skill and tender feeling. and with a cry impatient longing and the grief of separation are taken up.

This can also be seen clearly in very beautiful and meaningful verses contained in the poet's exquisite anthology "Memories of Life." Since even among Laiq's lyrics there is a general expression of his fertile imagination we quote, by way of an example, one of his lyrics for the reader:

O friends, I am driven mad by love, Words of suffering Clutch at my heart. I am delirious. I may weep alone in twilight, By night I weep, by day I burn.

As we know, Sulayman Laiq is the author of the national anthem of the Afghanistan Democratic Republic. Written by Sulayman Laiq during the first days after the victory of the April Revolution in 1978, this anthem during the two years has proudly resounded in the skies over the Afghanistan Democratic Republic. That anthem continued to resound in the skies in those terrible days of anarchy when the traitor, the blood thirsty murderer and spy Hafizulla Amin ruled. When S. Laiq was released, unharmed, from the "Puli charkhi" prison, he said excitedly: "During those days of torture in "Puli-charkhi," I clearly understood what being a poet really means and the miracle-working power of a poem."

11,433 CSO: 1810

### REGIONAL

# KAZAKH CC DECREE ON INCREASE IN PRODUCTION OF LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 80 pp 1, 3

Decree of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan: "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization for the Further Increase in the Production and Procurements of Livestock Products in the Light of the Requirements of the 25th Party Congress and of the July (1978) and November (1979) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee"

Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization for the Further Increase in the Production and Procurements of Livestock Products in the Light of the Requirements of the 25th Party Congress and of the July (1978) and November (1979) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee," the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan notes that the republic's party, Soviet and economic bodies, following the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the subsequent plenums of the Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on problems of agrarian policy, are engaged in specific work on the mobilization of party members and all rural workers for the further development of agriculture.

A dynamic growth in the gross output of grain was attained and the plan for its production and procurements was overfulfilled during the 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The output of raw cotton, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables and other crops increased. The assignments for the sale of milk, eggs and wool to the state were fulfilled successfully and the population and productivity of livestock increased. A great deal was done to strengthen the fodder base and to specialize and concentrate production.

At the same time, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan believes that the level of development of animal husbandry in the republic does not fully meet present-day requirements. In a number of oblasts, especially Ural'skaya, Kzyl-Ordinskaya and Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya oblasts, there is a serious lag in this sector. Many rayons and

even oblasts in the republic did not cope with the plans for meat procurements for the 4 years of the five-year plan. Aktyubinskaya, Alma-Atinska-ya and Tselinogradskaya oblasts did not fulfill their state obligations in the purchases of milk, Dzhezkazganskaya and Kustanayskaya oblasts, in the purchases of wool, Dzhambulskaya Oblast, in the purchases of eggs and karakul lambs and Kzyl-Ordinskaya and Chimkentskaya oblasts, in the purchases of wool and karakul lambs.

The loss and great expenditure of livestock on intrafarm needs, especially in Turgayskaya, Kokchetavskaya and some other oblasts, do considerable demage to animal husbandry. The capabilities of beef cattle husbandry, droving horse breeding and such early ripening sectors as hog breeding and poultry breeding for meat, as well as rabbit breeding and pond fish culture, are not utilized sufficiently.

In a number of oblasts the population is not enlisted sufficiently in the breeding and fattening of livestock and auxiliary farms are not developed efficiently. In Severo-Kazakhstanskaya, Kokchetavskaya and other oblasts there are serious shortcomings in milk production, there is hardly any increase in milk yields, the proportion of cows in the herd structure is low and pedigree and zooveterinary work needs to be improved fundamentally.

Although the production of feed for collective animal husbandry has increased throughout the republic, the further development of its leading sectors is hampered owing to the low quality of feed, insufficient expansion of the network of the mixed feed industry and slow construction of feed shops and feed storage facilities. In a number of places the yield of fodder crops remains low, the problems of increasing the production of fodder protein are not solved efficiently and sufficient measures to fundamentally improve natural fodder land and to establish cultivated pastures are not taken.

The overall mechanization and reconstruction of farms lag. There are serious oversights in the construction and operation of livestock breeding complexes.

Not all party committees and farm managers and specialists profoundly investigate economic problems, owing to which the capital investments allocated for the development of animal husbandry do not always give the full yield. Many construction organizations do not meet the schedules for the commissioning of projects and deliver low-quality projects. Proper measures to strengthen the base of rural construction organizations are not taken.

Some scientific research institutions of agriculture do not engage in research in an overall manner and are out of touch with production.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan notes that the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Agriculture and its local bodies and individual party and oblast and rayon executive committees do not sufficiently direct the efforts of rural workers toward the maximum utilization

of the potentials for an accelerated advance of animal husbandry, do not make the proper demands on personnel, are not greatly concerned with creating the necessary cultural and general conditions for them and do not fundamentally evaluate cases of mismanagement.

A significant number of oblast and rayon party committees and primary party organizations do not engage efficiently in an improvement in the forms and methods of party management of animal husbandry and in the organization of socialist competition. The undertaken obligations are not always fulfilled and advanced experience is not introduced sufficiently.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan decries the following:

- 1. A steady implementation of the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and of the July (1978) and November (1979) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and of the advice and instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed by him at the plenums of the Central Committee on problems concerning the development of animal husbandry and an unconditional fulfillment by every sovkhoz, kolkhoz, rayon and oblast of the assignments set for 1980 and of the socialist obligations for an increase in the population and productivity of livestock and for the growth of the production and sale of meat, milk and other products to the state with a view to establishing a firm basis for a successful development of all animal husbandry sectors during the forthcoming five-year plan must be considered the major tasks of party, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, economic bodies and managers of sovkhozes and kolkhozes in the republic.
- 2. Oblast and rayon party committees, oblast and rayon executive committees, the Ministry of Agriculture and its local bodies must take urgent measures to further develop animal husbandry, to wage a decisive fight against the loss and unproductive expenditure of livestock, to improve work on herd reproduction and to increase the young stock crop percent.

The potentials for increasing beef production must be utilized more fully. Specialized beef cattle husbandry must be developed more actively. High increases in the weight of animals must be attained and young large-horned cattle sold at the age of 18 to 20 months must weigh no less than 400 kg.

In the next few years the population of cows and their dairy productivity must be increased. The average milk yield per cow must be increased to 2,500 or 3,000 kg and on farms in suburban zones of intensive dairy cattle husbandry, to 3,500 or 4,000 kg. At the same time, the proportion of cows in the herd must be 45 to 50 percent and on other sovkhozes and kolkhozes, no less than 35 percent. A directed breeding of heifers from highly productive cows in specialized departments and on farms must be widely organized and the shop structure of keeping dairy cows should be introduced persistently.

Following the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Development of Sheep Breeding in the Kazakh SSR," an accelerated advance of this sector must be ensured, the preservation of the stock must be improved and its productivity must be raised. In the next few years the population of eves must be increased to 25 million, as a minimum, and no less than 100 lambs must be obtained from 100 eves. Sheep weighing 40 kg and more must be delivered.

Hog breeding must be developed more intensively. The delivery weight of an animal should be no less than 105 kg.

The production of poultry meat should be increased and the construction of new and reconstruction of existing poultry farms should be carried out more widely with the enlistment of patron enterprises in this. The further growth of the production and procurements of horse and camel breeding products should be ensured and the capabilities of pond fish culture and rabbit breeding should be utilized more widely.

3. Party committees and Soviet and agricultural bodies must carry out the specialization and concentration of animal husbandry in a planned manner, develop interfarm cooperatives more widely, intensify the transfer of animal husbandry to an industrial basis and persistently introduce advanced forms of labor organization, advanced experience and the best achievements of agricultural science.

All the channels of losses must be resolutely closed everywhere, cases of liberalism toward the manifestations of mismanagement, slovenliness and careless attitude with respect to the national wealth must be ended and culprits must be made strictly responsible for this.

4. The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Agriculture, oblast party committees, oblast executive committees, rayon party committees, rayon executive committees and sovkhoz and kolkhoz managers must ensure an unconditional fulfillment of measures for strengthening the fodder base of the republic's animal husbandry, pay special attention to an increase in the production of fodder protein as a result of the expansion of the areas sown with alfafa, peas, soybeans, vetch, chick peas and so forth and more efficiently utilize irrigated land and underground water for feed production.

The Kazakh SSR ministries of procurements, agriculture and rural construction must ensure the fulfillment of the plans for the construction and commissioning of mixed feed plants, improve the quality of produced mixed feed and mineral and other additives and engage in the construction of interfarm mixed feed enterprises more actively.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry must take measures to increase the capacities of processing enterprises and to further develop direct relations in the acceptance of livestock and milk directly on farms.

- 5. The republic's ministries and departments, the Kazakh Union of Consumer Societies and party and Soviet bodies must intensify their work on the development of auxiliary farms, more fully utilize the possibilities of increasing meat production on private farms and improve the organization of the purchase of surplus livestock products from the population.
- 6. The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Agriculture and oblast and rayon executive committees must improve pedigree work, utilize pedigree livestock more efficiently, establish highly productive herds of animals, pay more serious attention to the work of pedigree farms and raise the level of zootechnical and veterinary work and of the standard of sanitation on farms.
- The Kazakh SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, the Kazakh SSR ministries of agriculture and rural construction, the Kazakh Interkolkhoz Construction Organization and the republic's party, Soviet and economic bodies must intensify construction in rural areas, attain a reduction in the periods and cost of work and an improvement in the quality of planning and construction work and ensure the fulfillment of the plans for the commissioning of projects.

They must implement measures for the technical servicing of animal husbandry complexes and poultry farms and for the reconstruction of livestock barns and accelerate overall mechanization in hog breeding and dairy farming.

- 8. The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Agriculture, the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, the Kazakh Trade Union Council, oblast and rayon party committees and the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Kazakhstan must improve the training of personnel, enlist young people in animal husbandry more widely and manifest constant concern for retaining specialists in rural areas.
- 9. The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Agriculture and party and Soviet bodies must improve economic work on sovkhozes and kolkhozes and utilize the capital investments allocated for the development of animal husbandry more efficiently. They must intensify the policy of economy and thrift, wage a decisive fight against mismanagement and attain an increase in labor productivity, reduction in production costs and rise in the quality of output and profitability of all animal husbandry sectors.
- 10. The Kazakh SSR State Committee for Productive and Technical Provision of Agriculture must improve the supply of spare parts and of the necessary machinery and equipment for the republic's sovkhozes and kolkhozes, raise the level of technical servicing of farms, upgrade the work of repair enterprises and attain an improvement in the quality of repairs and a reduction in their costs.
- 11. The Kazakh SER Ministry of Agriculture, party and Soviet bodies and sovkhoz and kolkhoz managers must intensify the control over an organized completion of the wintering of livestock with a view to avoiding its losses and reduction in productivity and ensuring a complete preservation of the born young stock.

- 12. The eastern department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin and the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Agriculture must raise the level of scientific research and concentrate the efforts—scientists on developing new and improving existing breeds of animals—on devising advanced techniques of production of livestock products and feed. They must raise the responsibility of collectives of scientific research institutions for the quality and efficiency of elaborated problems and for the introduction of scientific achievements into production.
- 13. The Kazakh SSR ministries of culture, domestic services for the public, trade and health, the Kazakh Union of Consumer Societies and the Kazakh Trade-Union Council must improve cultural-general, trade and medical services for workers on livestock farms, especially in pasture sections.
- 14. Party committees and trade-union and Komsomol bodies must more widely develop an efficient socialist competition for a prescheduled fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations by every farm, rayon and oblast. They must improve the measures for moral and financial incentives for winners and support and disseminate advanced experience in the maximum possible way.
- 15. Oblast and rayon party committees must intensify organizational and mass political work among livestock breeders and take efficient measures to strengthen and increase the role of primary party organizations, to correctly place party members at crucial production sections and to intensify their activity and party influence in labor collectives.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan expresses confidence that the republic's party, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, economic bodies and collectives of sovkhozes and kolkhozes will do their utmost to successfully fulfill the national economic plans and socialist obligations of the current year and the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole and will meet the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 60th anniversary of the Kazakh SSR and of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in an appropriate manner.

11,439 CSO: 1800

### REGIONAL.

# KIRGHIZ PLENUM REPORT PRESENTED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Mar 80 p 1

[Unsigned report: "Informational Report on the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia"]

[Text] The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia took place on 26 March 1980.

The plenum reviewed the results of the elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies of the republic. Com. T. U. Usubaliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia, addressed the plenum.

By unanimous resolution the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia declared that the elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets were an important event in the life of the republic and emerged as a vivid demonstration of the true power of the people, a national holiday for socialist democracy. The results of the elections showed once again that the workers of Kirghizstan, along with the entire soviet nation, warmly, wholeheartedly approve of the domestic and foreign policies of the CC CPSU and its Politburo, headed by the true successor of immortal Leninism, the outstanding leader of the Party and Soviet State, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhney.

Elections in the republic took place on a high ideological, political and organizational level, against a background of great creative activity. The Central Committee plenum emphasized that the task of the party organizations is to consolidate and develop the great political and work-oriented enthusiasm which appeared among the worker collectives in the course of the election campaign and to direct this enthusiasm toward fulfilling socialist obligations in honor of the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, toward a successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and toward a worthy welcome for the 26th CPSU Congress.

The plenum reviewed the agenda of the First Session, Tenth Convocation, of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR.

The plenum relieved Comrade S. Begmatova of her obligations as candidate in the Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Kirghizia due to her pensioned retirement.

The plenum relieved Comrade T. Sarbanov of his duties as head of the Department of Progaganda and Agitation and Comrade Dzh. Nusupova of her duties as head of the Department of Culture of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia due to their transfer to other duties.

With this the plenum concluded its activities.

9637

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

ABASHA EXPERIMENT SUCCESS, SIGNIFICANCE DISCUSSED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 30 Apr 80 p 3

[Article reprinted from CHERNOHORSKAYA ZDRAVNITSA No 60, 1980, by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Tereshchenko: "The Abasha Miracle"]

(Text) In August of last year the CPSU CC and the GCP CC held an all-union conference-seminar in Georgia's Abashskiy Rayon to summarize the results of the successful experiment to determine the optimal forms of agricultural production administration on the rayon level at the present stage in accordance with the CPSU's agrarian policy. The keynote address at the plenary session was delivered by well-known Soviet scientist and Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Valeriy Tereshchenko. During World War I, V. I. Tereshchenko went abroad and graduated from two institutions of higher learning in Prague and Columbia University in New York. For more than 30 years he lived in America, where he taught in the University. While serving as chief economist in Washington's Department of Agriculture during World War II, he actively spearheaded the organization of aid to the Soviet Union. As soon as the war was over, he came to the Soviet Union as senior economist of the United Nations International Organization for the Administration of Aid and Restoration to help rebuild the devastated economy of the Ukraine and Belorussia.

In 1960, V. I. Tereshchenko became a Soviet citizen. He is now working in the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. At the same time, he is teaching at Kiev State University, where he conducts a course in the scientific organization of administration. He is a lecturer for the Znaniye Society and section chairman of Gosstandart's Main Terminology Commission.

In the article below, Professor V. Tereshchenko discusses the extremely interesting Abasha experience.

It will soon be one year since I attended the August 1979 seminar in Abasha. But I keep returning to what I saw and found out in Georgia's Abashskiy Rayon. I had already heard about the Abasha experiment, and I had read well-known Georgian writer Konstantine Lortkipanidze's pamphlet "What Happened in Abasha." But what I saw on the spot surpassed all my expectations.

They have truly accomplished a miracle in Abasha. After all, just a short while ago Abashskiy Rayon--the potential "corn basket" of Western Georgia--was one of the most backward. Between 1965 and 1970 the local kolkhozes and sovkhozes were getting only five quintals of corn or so per hectare. Earnings were so low that some families had to leave.

What brought Abashskiy Rayon to such a state? What else but that which always results in the same thing: completely inadequate organization and administration. When these methods were changed, the "miracle" that occurred was entirely natural, and in just a short time Abashskiy Rayon was transformed into one of the republic's most prosperous. No one is leaving the area any more; quite the contrary, many people are trying to transfer to Abasha to live and work.

Between 1974 and 1978 alone, the rayon's main crop--corn--increased in yield from 29.7 to 42.3 quintals per hectare. Whereas in 1971 the rayon's social farm operations sold only 17,540 quintals of grain to the state, in 1978 sales were 80,580 quintals. In that same period, vegetable procurement increased 16-fold, and fruit procurement increased 4-fold. The 1978 tealeaf procurement plan was fulfilled by 215.7 percent. For exceeding annual plan fulfillment, Abashskiy Rayon has been awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU CC, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol CC seven years in a row (1973 through 1979).

Once while I was serving as trade consultant in the United States along with R. Harst, who is well known in the Soviet Union (he is also well known here, and he has been in Georgia), I had the opportunity to see what the "corn forests" in Harst's Iowa cornfields were like. But when I saw the corn in Abasha's fields, I said Now that's corn-there's just no comparison with Harst's. There wasn't a weed to be seen anywhere.

The natural setting, land, or climate have not changed in Abashskiy Rayon. So how did the Abasha "miracle" come about? In my opinion, the changes are due to three factors: the system, labor incentive, and the people.

There is truth in the old saying "if you do not sow you shall not reap." An agricultural system is always based on farm production. Nevertheless, agriculture and farm production are no longer identical terms. Once in PRAVDA I wrote: In today's complex process of meeting human needs, crop

raising has become a mere subsystem within a more complex system designed not only to produce goods but also to deliver them in appropriate form to the consumer. The housewife is not much interested in Central Statistical Administration data concerning bumper crops, the amount of land under cultivation, production output, and other indicators.

What concerns her is to have enough food. This idea was clearly and precisely stated at the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "...In the final analysis, the consumer considers the quality and quantity of farm goods in terms of what he sees and what he can buy in the store."

To insist today that our country has accomplished great things in agricultural production is to "break down an open door," as the saying goes. But the task of fully meeting the population's needs has not yet been accomplished. The problem here, in my opinion, is not just production but the fact that an inexcusably high percentage of the crop never reaches the consumer. This was also recently noted by USSR State Planning Committee Chairman N. K. Baybakov: "... Every year, millions of tons of grain are lost during harvesting, transport, and storage. About 25 percent of the fruit and vegetable crop never reaches the consumer." This happens because we do not yet have a sense of "uninterrupted, coordinated functioning of every link in the chain which connects field and farm to the consumer."

This weakened chain can only be strengthened through program-goal administration. This is not a new idea, but in this case the CPSU CC decree "Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Effectiveness and Improving Work Quality" puts everything in its proper place. Now it considers program-goal administration to be the cornerstone of efforts to improve the administration of our national economy and directly obliges the USSR State Planning Committee to "raise the content of planning to a qualitatively new level on the basis of the extensive use of the program-goal method" and suggests that in working out programs account be taken of "end purposes, technical-economic results, and work timetables and stages."

Essentially a typical program-goal administration organ is the Rayon Association of Agricultural Administration created in Abasha in 1974, which in conjunction with the kolkhozes and sovkhozes has jurisdiction over all enterprises and services relating to agriculture. To enlarge its authority, in 1978 it was made into an agricultural production administration under the GSSR Ministry of Agriculture and the Abashskiy Rayispolkom. The purpose of the association is not to increase production for the sake of production but to provide program-goal administration of the economic and social development of the rayon's entire agroindustrial complex as required in program-goal administration. Now, due attention is focused not only on production matters but also problems of reclamation, water management, commodity warehousing and storage, transport, drying, cleaning, packing, and wrapping, planned hauling, and so on and so forth.

Since the last half of 1978, the association has set up an automotive transport enterprise and organized a dispatcher-information service, which by means of 23 radio-telephone sets maintains contact between the rayon's kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and various organizations; this has made it possible to monitor daily schedules. Programmed machinery are used to mechanize the issuance and inventorying of spare parts. In 1979, two interfarm feed-procurement enterprises were created to provide all of the rayon's socially-owned farms with fodder, and a mineral fertilizer ware-house went into operation, in which railcar loading and unloading of fertilizers is fully mechanized.

All administrative measures sent from above by the ministries and departments are now carried out through the association, whose chairman serves at the same time as deputy chairman of Abashskiy Rayispolkom. The new administrative system has also helped to break down departmental barriers; it has increased the personal responsibility of the officials, improved the rhythmicity of the work, and demonstrated clearly what happens when a single master authority appears on the scene.

The new work methods have motivated all participants to develop production further, and it has exerted spiritual incentive. We can hardly speak of such incentive as long as farm workers feel that their efforts are being wasted—seeing the fine tomatoes they have raised rotting in the fields for lack of crates, seeing their cabbages left in the fields until they freeze, seeing how only yellowed and faded cucumbers reach the store shelves. In the program—goal administration system, such things do not happen.

Material incentive is also operative under the new system of management. The association has converted to the link [zveno] method of operation. The various mechanized links raise particular crops. Such links, being the primary labor collectives, work on a cost-accounting [khozraschet] basis. Each link has its own assigned area, but field work generally takes up only a few months of the year; the rest of the time is spent on equipment repair and other work. This helps to ensure a uniform work load throughout the year. In 1979, there were 48 integrated mechanized links operating in the rayon.

For overfulfilling the plan, every structural unit receives a bonus in kind, the amount being figured as a percentage of the goods produced over and above the plan. These bonuses amount to as much as 50 percent of above-plan production, and of course this has substantially boosted the earnings of kolkhozniks and sovkhoz workers. They no longer, as the saying goes, keep one eye on the clock while on the job. The result has been a 23.1 percent increase in the rayon's labor productivity in the past five or six years, and compensation per man-day has risen from 3.31 to 6.47 rubles.

Socialist competition has become more effective. It is organized between shops, crews, links, and sections, and also between individual workers.

But however important a system may be, in every endeavor the crucial factor is still people. And in Abasha the people are considered to be one of the main reasons for the success: the source of their success is their faithfulness to the cause, their enthusiasm, their thirst for work. Many of them have been mentioned in the pages of the Georgian press, too many to count. I should like merely to mention one person who is undoubtedly the heart and soul of the Abasha experiment—Guram Mgeladze, Abashskiy Raykom's First Secretary. A few hours after I saw him I was convinced that this head man of the Abasha experiment was truly a master of his craft, master in the best sense of the word, intelligent, energetic, firm, and an excellent organizer.

I have often said that the whole system must "function," I have said that the success of an endeavor must depend not on individual people but on the system itself.... And yet.... Not everyone is capable of organizing a system. The Abasha experiment, of course, is not the only one in the USSR considering that agroindustrial associations are being created throughout the country. But much about this experiment is unique and new, and in this respect it is a reflection of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's words to the effect that in pursuing a course of enhancing effectiveness "we often have to think in new ways, we have to take a new approach and seek new solutions: otherwise we cannot escape inertia, we cannot overcome the bottlenecks which hinder economic growth." G. Mgeladze has managed to overcome the routine and deeply-entrenched inertia, the dangerous "that's the way it's always been," "that's the way we do it" sentiments, and with his fellow workers he has managed to develop and adapt to local conditions a new system, a program-goal administration system so essential in such endeavors, one which not only enhances the people's material wellbeing but also their spiritual culture. This is the path Abasha has taken. And all glory and praise in this goes to Abasha's farmworkers.

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CSO: 1810

'SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA' RESPONDS TO LETTER ABOUT OPINION POLL

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 May 80 p 2

[Article by special correspondent P. Broditskiy and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Davydchenkov: "Everyone's Opinion"]

Not so long ago a representative of "Sovetskaya Rossiya" visited our family. He asked me as a subscriber to the newspaper to answer questions contained in a questionnaire. The conversation was substantive and interesting. But I thought to myself later: is my opinion so important. Afterall, I am no specialist in "making" the newspaper. Besides, I have one opinion, whereas my neighbor has another, possibly completely opposite. What kind of a composite opinion will our two represent and what will they provide to the editors?

Mikhail Osipovich's letter reflects the desire of many who participated in the experiment—every tenth questionnaire contains a request that the editors publish its results. Therefore, because the newspaper's subscribers are entitled to know everything about their newspaper, we will give some of the study's results and specific conclusions which the editors have already drawn from it.

Let us start with the paper's circulation. Currently over 2,300,000 families subscribe to "Sovetskaya Rossiya." Another 350,000 people buy the newspaper in kiosks. The paper's readership has recently noticeably increased—about a quarter of a million new subscribers have been added in the past four months, a surge which explains the shortage of copies at the retail level.

Like all Soviet periodicals, "Sovetskaya Rossiya" receives tens of thousands of letters from its readers, operates correspondent 'offices and public reception points in the majority of krays, oblasts and autonomous republics of the RSFSR and has an extensive network of part-time and full-time as well as permanently assigned and special correspondents. Readers' conferences and so-called "Opinion Days" are held. All of this makes it possible for the paper's readers to participate actively in the work of the editors.

At present not one collective of editors can be satisfied with simply keeping track of the number and content of the letters received. It is very important to know the readers' opinion, to find out how people view the paper as a whole and specific published materials, and their personal participation in its work. Mass reader surveys conducted using a specially developed system yield good results. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improvement in Ideological and Politi :1-Educational Work" the in-depth and comprehensive study of public opinion has been stipulated as one of the most important conditions for improving the newspaper's image and increasing the topicality, poignancy and vividness of its articles.

Such studies have double significance for the work of the editors. On the one hand, they make it possible to know the composition of the paper's audience and the great variety of the tastes and opinions of its readers. On the other hand, to concentrate the paper's attention on certain social phenomena.

All editorial desks perform on-going analysis of reality's complex phenomena. The experience of communist policy formulation is generalized. On the basis of many of the press's articles local Party and government organs, central departments and ministries make practical decisions. The organizing role of the press is demonstrated here, and it is no accident, as the study has shown, that one of the paper's most popular columns is "Following Up on Materials Published by 'Sovetskaya Rossiya.'"

V. I. Lenin, who assigned great importance to the analysis of letters sent to "Iskra," laid the foundation for concrete sociological studies of the Party press. In 1912 at his request N. K. Krupskaya studied the data on "Pravda" subscribers and compiled a model of the newspaper's audience which made it possible to judge its popularity among various segments of the population. Vladimir Il'ich on the whole considered sociological studies a must for newspapers. The purpose of the study conducted by the editors of "Sovetskaya Rossiya" in 1979 was to establish the composition of the readership and their opinions about the paper.

We can now proceed to answer that portion of Mikhail Osipovich's letter in which he asks: how are the opinions of individuals about the paper and its articles combined into a composite picture? Let us begin with examples.

The current age composition of "Sovetskaya Rossiya's" readership includes school children younger than 16 and retirees over 60 with an average subscriber age of 43. Knowledge of this data on readership composition is important for the editors inasmuch as on the basis of them they can use a more differentiated approach in evaluating the audience's interests and publishing materials intended for certain categories of readers.

Data obtained in the study on the level of readers' education is just as useful.

In starting their study, sociologists disseminated in the collective of editorial workers a questionnaire very similar to the one used for readers, but in it the voluntary experts (editorial workers) were asked what kind of

person is our reader and how does he view the published materials. A comparison of the data obtained has shown that the views of the readers and "experts" far from coincided. Many problems, which in the opinion of readers require more careful attention, came to the fore. This is in answer to your question "is my opinion so important. Afterall, I am no specialist in 'making' the newspaper."

For example, the study showed that the audience of women among the readers of "Sovetskaya Rossiya" is considerably greater than those of other central newspapers--44 percent. Women constitute 36 and 33 percent of the audiences of "Pravda" and "Izvestiya," respectively. Therefore, the start in the paper of a special women's page "Women Today" was fully justified and met with approval, a fact confirmed by letters to the editors. One should note that the number of letters to the editors has almost doubled in the past year.

The study provided the editors with a considerable amount of other valuable data. Many interesting aspects of the social activity of the paper's readers and friends were identified in the study.

The expression "like a drop in the bucket" is applicable to sociological studies at every turn. Only several thousand of the two and a half million subscribers participated in the survey, but they were chosen so as to provide a cross section of the paper's entire readership. In establishing their samples and determining the locations where the survey would be conducted, mathematicians took into consideration first of all the variety of the territory of the Russian Federation—its central and border oblasts, southern and northern, primarily industrial and agricultural, city and rural. Dozens of factors were taken into consideration—equal representation of all economic regions, national republics, population size, subscriber "density," etc.

Twenty regions were selected in this way: Moscow and Leningrad, Krasnodar, Krasnoyarsk and Primorskiy Krays, Mordovian, Northern-Osetin and Tatar Autonomous Republics, Arkhalgelsk, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kuybyshev, Penza, Perm', Sakhalin, Tambov, Tula, Chelyabinsk, Chita and Yaroslavl' oblasts. Kray and oblasts Party committees rendered great assistance to the editors in each of these regions. They formed working committees composed of representatives of Party and government organs, scientists, newspaper workers, etc.

The editors attempted not to lose contact with those individuals who responded to the interviewers' questions. A considerable number of them became regulars with whom all questions of interest to the paper were discussed.

A survey of this nature was attempted for the first time. Therefore, a few words ought to be said about it. We requested that the organizers of the study at the local level send us copies of the assignment sheets provided to the interviewers on which were indicated the addresses of the subscribers selected by team leaders in post offices using a specific system. Then letters containing requests that our subscribers agree to answer our questions from time to time were mailed to all these addresses. In early February we asked these subscribers to give us their opinion on the paper's Sunday supplement. The editors received valuable information in a two week period.

MANY THANKS TO YOU, OUR DEAR ASSISTANTS!

There is a rule the editors follow: to conduct twice a month creative meetings called "shorties." The quality of published materials is discussed at them. Now you too will have an invisible presence at each such meeting. Through your answers to the survey's questions, your suggestions and wishes, and there were several thousand of them, you are influencing the trends for future materials and participating in the continuous creative process. The reader's voice acquires ever greater force at the newspaper. In the last few months alone, after the study's results had been generalized, a whole group of new sections and columns which take into account the readers' wishes has appeared on the pages of "Sovetskaya Rossiya."

To what has been said remains to be added that the studies are just beginning. They should become and are already becoming standard editorial practice. But we invite all not to wait until the interviewer or mailman brings the next questionnaire. You yourselves, dear readers, should respond even more to the paper's articles, write the editors about all that bothers, interests, attracts you. Remember that "Sovetskaya Rossiya" is your newspaper too.

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